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rdia

Wednesday March 13 1996

Abu Dhabi D 8.50	Hong Kong HK 2.25	Pakistan P 1.70
Algeria A 1.20	Hungary H 2.00	Poland P 2.10
Andorra A 1.00	India I 1.05	Portugal P 2.20
Australia A 2.20	Israel I 1.00	Romania R 1.50
Bahrain B 1.00	Italy I 1.00	Russia R 2.00
Belgium B 1.00	Jordan J 1.25	Saudi Arabia S 1.00
Bolivia B 1.75	Kuwait K 1.50	Slovenia S 1.20
Brazil B 1.50	Lebanon L 1.00	Slovakia S 1.20
Canada C 1.00	Lithuania L 1.00	Spain S 1.00
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Denmark D 1.00	Malaysia M 1.00	Switzerland S 1.00
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France F 1.00	Norway N 1.00	Zimbabwe Z 2.00
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Greece G 1.00		

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR
46,499

Tom Bower on Balliol and the Flicks

Oxford dons and Nazi gold

G2 with European weather



Billington on five twenty-something dramatists

The new golden age of theatre

G2 pages 4/5



Society

Diary of an animal rights activist

G2 pages 10/11

Threat of new loyalist terror

David Sgarrook
Ireland Correspondent

NORTHERN Ireland said further towards a return to violence last night when loyalists warned the IRA that unless it swiftly restores the ceasefire, its attacks would be matched "blow for blow".

The warning came as the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, arrived in the United States under increasing pressure from President Clinton for a restoration of the ceasefire. Mr Adams's flight coincided with an admission by the IRA that it bombed London's Brompton Road last Friday night.

Yesterday's statement from the Combined Loyalist Military Command, the umbrella leadership of the Ulster Volunteer Force, Ulster Freedom Fighters and Red Hand Commando, said that in the month since the Docklands bombing it had "withstood the provocation" which had killed "innocent British fellow-citizens".

"These atrocities cannot be permitted to continue without a telling response from this source. We are poised and ready to strike to effect. We will give blow for blow. As in the past whatever the cost, we will gladly pay it," said the statement.

The CLMC said now was the time to pull back from the brink. "Despite the frustration we all occasionally feel, the democratic process is the only way forward." Northern Irish society was changing and would continue to change.

"New ground is constantly being broken and old animosities gradually laid to rest. We all have had hard decisions to make in the cause of peace. The IRA and Sinn Fein must now choose and choose well."

In New York President Clinton said: "The people of Northern Ireland have clearly chosen peace. They have chosen dialogue over division. They do not deserve to have a

small group choose bloodshed and violence — and shatter their dreams."

Without mentioning the IRA, he added: "We must not allow those who have been hardened by the past to hijack the future of the children of Northern Ireland."

Mr Adams's six-day visit to the United States began in circumstances which contrast sharply with his triumphal White House encounter with President Clinton on St Patrick's Day last year.

His fund-raising rights have been withdrawn, blowing plans for a \$1,000 a plate Sinn Fein dinner. Senator Edward Kennedy, who has been highly supportive of Sinn Fein's peace strategy, has declined to meet Mr Adams, who has not been invited to join prominent Irish and Irish Americans at this year's White House reception. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, will take the place of Mr Adams, the first Unionist leader to attend the annual celebrations.

After Monday's working dinner with the Irish Government, Mr Trimble said he was suspicious of Dublin's commitment to the legal preparations for decommissioning weapons before the June 10 start of all-party talks.

Yesterday he said: "I hope that Mr Spring (the Irish deputy prime minister) or whoever is not thinking of finding some way of surreptitiously assisting Sinn Fein/IRA to duck the issue of decommissioning by not having the necessary legislation in place beforehand."

At Dublin airport Mr Adams said the IRA would have to "study carefully" an overnight call by President Clinton for a renewal of its ceasefire. He insisted: "I want to see the peace process restored, but I have to say that the exclusion of Sinn Fein by the British and the Irish governments is not helpful."

However, Mr Adams added that he was again going to America with "the hope that the guns can be silenced forever".

Bringing up baby — at a cost of £20,000 for the first five years

Angella Johnson

THE average family will spend an estimated £20,000 bringing up a child to the age of five, according to a consumer survey published yesterday.

Some wealthier parents will spend £50,000 on their first-born even before the youngster starts school, says the report. What Price A Child. And indirect costs such as childcare can add a further £18,000.

The author, consumer specialist Jan Walsh, found that mothers-to-be spend an average £373 "from conception to contractions" on items such as extra food and maternity wear. "Having a child could be the most expensive decision of your life," she concluded.

Based on official figures and interviews with a panel of parents, the survey commissioned by supermarket chain Asda looked into the cost of parenting from conception to age five. It included expenses such as pregnancy, equipment, food, clothes, household expenses, education and entertainment.

Looking at what the "top and bottom 10 per cent" would be likely to pay, it found that equipment for new-borns can run into hundreds of pounds. Adding top-of-the-range accessories such as pushchairs, car seats, baby monitors and cots increases the cost to more than £1,600.

Between years one and three are the most expensive and boys are more expensive to feed than girls, the survey found.

Rival forces battle for control of Newbury bypass treetops



Cliffhanger... Rock-climber and road protester Ben Moon tries to evade a rival team of climbers contracted to clear protesters from treehouses on the route of the proposed Newbury bypass Report page 3

Rifkind walks tightrope on EU

Michael White
Political Editor

THE Cabinet's attempt to unite the Conservative Party behind the anti-federalist rhetoric of its new European white paper last night faced the double threat that its bluff will be called by its own Euro-sceptics and by Britain's European Union partners.

After the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, introduced the white paper in the Commons, former cabinet ministers John Redwood, Norman Lamont and Jonathan Aitken, made plain that its emphatic hostility to a "European super-state" could be an historic turning point — but only if ministers deliver on their promises to stand firm at the inter-government conference (IGC) which opens in Turin in two weeks time.

The white paper said the Government will fight for strong curbs on the European Court of Justice and against an increased role for the European Parliament. It also wants to change farming and fisheries policies, prevent any watering down of the national veto and keep Britain's opt-out from the social chapter.

Labour and Liberal Democrats claimed the Conserva-

- YES to strong curbs on the European Court of Justice.
- NO to expansion of qualified majority voting (QMV).
- YES to increased QMV rights for the EU's big four states, including Britain.
- NO to an increased role for the European Parliament.
- YES to continued national sovereignty in foreign, defence and immigration policy.
- NO to "back door" use of health and safety directives to get round the social chapter opt-out.



mood — invoked the vision of an "outward-looking, free-trading, democratic" Partnership of Nations, the white paper's title.

But, to the dismay of some pro-European Tories — who later awarded him "5 out of 10" for the white paper — he also insisted that the EU "will only succeed if it respects the integrity of the independent nation states which comprise its membership, and if it is flexible enough to accommodate their political and cultural differences."

"The government is totally opposed to a monolithic, centralised, federal Europe," he

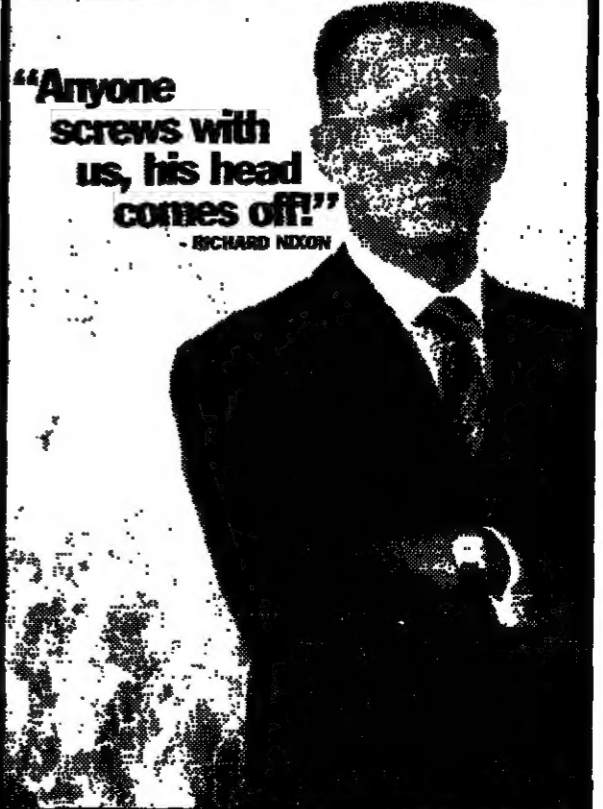
said to Tory cheers. Mr Aitken later praised some "good Euro-sceptical themes" Mr Rifkind warned that if ministers failed, or a Blair government gave in, "this House would have to consider the option for withdrawal". Mr Lamont was almost as apocalyptic.

The tone of welcoming messages from hard-core Tory sceptics was given dramatic focus yesterday by the provisional judgment — hours before Mr Rifkind spoke — from the advocate general of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg that Britain must abide by the European Commission's long disputed working time directive which imposes a 48-hour working week.

The snap verdict of jubilant British unions and Labour MPs that — if endorsed by the full court — it might prove the kiss of death for the social chapter opt-out was endorsed by Tory arch-sceptics like Sir Teddy Taylor. John Redwood accused the court of "threatening our veto of the social chapter. The UK parliament should immediately assert its rights" over the court — as Germany's constitutional court had done. Coming in the wake of the court defeat, their political and cultural differences.

"The government is totally opposed to a monolithic, centralised, federal Europe," he

JAMES WOODS AS H. R. HALDEMAN



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2 NEWS

Sketch

John comes out in sceptic camp



Simon Hoggart

THE Prime Minister came out as a Euro-sceptic yesterday. In a shock announcement he confirmed what newspapers had been hinting at for months — that in spite of an apparently happy union for more than five years, his relationship with Europe had been little more than a sham designed to protect his image in the eyes of the public.

Alarm at 'extra-territorial' law's threat to British firms as US puts grudge with Castro before allies

Cuba trade ban angers UK

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

PRESIDENT Clinton set the United States on a collision course with Britain and several key allies yesterday when he escalated the US economic war against Cuba, approving the harshest ever package of measures against the island.

For retaliation for last month's incident from Cuban exiles made continued administration resistance to the bill politically untenable. The signing coincided with yesterday's presidential primary contest in Florida, where Cuban-Americans' influence is pivotal. Even though only Republicans were in competition in the state yesterday, Mr Clinton was clearly determined to present himself as second to none in opposing President Castro. Mr Clinton lost Florida by a whisker in 1992, and believes victory there is crucial to his chances of re-election in November.

Canada has threatened to challenge the measure as a violation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and to take the matter before the World Trade Organisation in Geneva. Britain has attacked the law as "extra-territorial" — an illegal extension of US sovereignty beyond its own borders. Trade rules in Britain have been changed to remove any obligation of UK companies to comply with the new US law.

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ordinary Cubans. "This bill is going to shore up Castro, not bring him down," said Lee Hamilton, of the House International Relations Committee. "This kind of isolation actually helps Castro at home," a senior Democratic congressional aide said yesterday, noting that the Havana regime will now have extra ammunition behind its claim that the US is responsible for Cuba's problems.

No one denied yesterday that it was the downing of the two Cessnas in February that had saved the Helms-Burton Bill from a certain presidential veto. "The shooting happened and all of a sudden no one can be tough enough on Cuba — even if it's the wrong policy," said the aide.



'It has been a complete nightmare for me, my family, friends and the pigs. They have all suffered equally'

Iain Whitney after his acquittal



Iain Whitney at the gate to the field where he keeps his saddle-back pigs and (above left) Sgt George Stepney, who has a chicken farm on adjoining land

First night

The plague years that infect us all

Robin Thomer

THE SWAN in Worcester is the latest small theatre under threat of being turned into a recycling rather than a producing house in a move which would hammer another nail in the coffin of the regional repertory system. Why does this matter? Because the regional theatre not only provides the nursery of talent for television drama and film, but also leaves the culture and quality of life in provincial towns and cities.

Everyday tale of rural strife clears barrister

John Ezard

RANCOUR between a chicken-farming police sergeant and his prize pig-breeding barrister neighbour led the policeman to concoct an "oppressive" vendetta which shamed British justice, a court was told yesterday.

and former barrister with the Crown Prosecution Service, was acquitted of failing to provide a breath specimen and awarded costs by Rugby magistrates. The verdict followed an accusation by Mr Whitney's counsel, Elizabeth Barrett, that the sergeant, George Stepney of Warwickshire police, had "used his position of power in order to pursue his own private vendetta".

Magistrates heard that last August Mr Whitney ran off after being stopped. He was not cautioned, said Miss Barrett, and not even arrested. "He was a target and he became a victim," she said. "In this case the police have behaved in a manner which British justice ought to be ashamed of. It was an oppressive, capricious, unfair and dangerous operation."

tragedy. That night I was frightened, I will admit. I ran away because I was frightened and it turned out I was right in doing so. "Now we can get down to some important pig breeding and win some prizes and have a good day."

assault and affray against three officers involved in the incident. Warwickshire police said: "The case was properly brought. Because of the private prosecution pending, which will be rigorously defended, we can make no further comments."

Hospital letter to staff leads to row at immigration checks

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

AN ATTEMPT by an NHS hospital trust to introduce immigration status checks for some of its staff before new government legislation comes into effect has provoked angry protests.

Newly chic Gucci goes on sale for a cool \$1.3bn

Chris Barrie

A MAJORITY stake in Gucci was sold yesterday in a move that symbolises the fashion house's resurrection after years of turmoil and losses. Against the background of the almost doubling in its share price over the last few months, the scramble to buy is likely to mirror the desperation of customers wanting Gucci's latest loafers, hipsters and U-shaped shoulder bags.

Rifkind walks tightrope between EU and sceptics

Chris Barrie

continued from page 1 over Spanish "quota hopping" in British fishing waters and the threat that "back door techniques" could also be used to impose tax changes. It puts more heat on the Government than John Major would like in an election run-up.

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The case, involving The University College London Hospi-

tal Trust, highlights the difficulties faced by many employers when later this year it becomes an offence to employ illegal immigrants.

Mr Ford has produced a series of giddily successful collections including the

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BATTLE OF NEWBURY: Sheriff's officer handcuffed to tree in day of drama and farce

Climbers in hand to hand battles 50ft up

John Vidal

TWO teams of Britain's most skilled rock climbers, one loyal to the cause of conservation and the other hired by the Under-Sheriff of Berkshire, yesterday fought hand to hand 50 ft up the trees on the route of the Newbury bypass.



Ben Moon, with details of solicitors provided by Friends of the Earth, as police prepare to take him to Basingstoke police station

Testers were in three oak trees waiting for Under-Sheriff Nicholas Blandy and 400 guards. The Sheffield-based climbers — who are staying in the Newbury camps in protest against climbing colleagues accepting £200 a day from Mr Blandy to drag protesters out of the trees — raced to the tree houses.

brought down in a cherry-picker and charged by the police. The scene was set for the two climbing teams to face each other. "It's like gladiators," said Nicola Murphy, a Newbury resident who had come to the camp to see what was happening.

both sides chatting and insulting each other liberally. Mr Blandy's men pushed Mr Moon's team higher. For five hours the climbers blocked the routes up, hanging upside down, cutting off walkways and teasing the Sheriff's men.

the cherry-picker descended on to them and two climbers came from below. The climbers were charged with violent disorder. Climbing commentator Jim Ferris said: "Those who have joined the bailiffs are set to be ostracised by many in the climbing community because they are abusing their climbing skills when they attack the protesters."

implicated in any of the allegations made by Virgin. The saga also caused huge disruption within the BA board as each director was required to sign an undertaking that he or she had no knowledge of the "dirty tricks" alleged by Virgin.

Branson and BA fuel airline feud

Patrick Donovan City Editor

THE great "dirty tricks" battle between the UK's two biggest airlines heated up last night despite the payment by Richard Branson's Virgin Atlantic of £388,000 in costs to arch rival British Airways.

BA seized the opportunity to claim that the high-profile corporate battle was at an end as Virgin had agreed to pay the costs involved in a case alleging computer misuse which never came to court. In addition, the airline claimed, a \$1 billion (£650,000) hearing had been due to be held next week to decide the cost issue.

Life goes on and up for 'distressed' Julia Carling

'Scandal is doing for her what Grant did for Hurley,' Edward Pilkington reports

Her glittering career

- 1982: Julia Smith starts career as assistant in a record shop.
1983: Gains access to rock world, sports, etc. when meets guitarist Jeff Beck and starts 8 1/2-year relationship.
1984: Johnnie Walker Dickson PR agency specialising in rock clients.
1985: Meets Will Carling at dinner party.
1986: Sets up own PR company, Hands On, with her brother Adrian Smith.
1987: Forms relationship with Will Carling.
July 1989: Marries Will Carling, Leaves Hands On.
Oct 1990: Starts presenting pop music show on cable television.
August 1990: News of the World breaks story of Will Carling's friendship with Princess Diana.
September 1990: Separates from Will, Begins presenting Capital Woman on Carlton television.
January 1991: Offered occasional work presenting Big Breakfast on Channel 4. Press watchdog says she had given press interviews "designed in part to enhance her image and promote her career".
March 12, 1991: Tabloids allege Will Carling had affair with Princess Diana. Julia is on front cover of the Tatler and picks up cable television award.
Upcoming: Six-part series on BBC2.

Sarah Boseley on the royal row that lost Relate its president



Joanna Foster: quotes were 'a betrayal of trust'

RELATE, the marriage guidance council, yesterday accused a Sunday newspaper of wrongly suggesting that the charity wanted to distance itself from its patron, the Princess of Wales, prompting the resignation of its president.

publicly about the patron... they constitute poor judgment, a betrayal of trust and ill-considered management of the press. So had nobody explained Relate's side of the story to the president? "These kinds of conversation are taken at the level of the board of trustees," said Ms Cole. "I can't really comment."

JULIA CARLING, the estranged wife of the England rugby captain embroiled in the scandal that he slept with the Princess of Wales, yesterday picked up her first television award and vowed: "Life must go on."

month he had proposed and they married in the summer of 1984. At first, she reveals to the Tatler, she was happy to play "that role of second fiddle. It was lovely - suddenly everybody recognised you. Who wouldn't get a kick out of it?"

at "upmarket housewives". The deal is believed to be worth about £40,000. There has been the odd blip in her upward trajectory, as when she was caught by paparazzi last October kissing her hairdresser outside a restaurant. However, when she complained to the Press Complaints Commission, it pointed to articles, in which she participated, that were "designed in part to enhance her image and promote her career".

How Diana relates to good causes

- The Princess of Wales is patron or president of 69 charities in this country and 13 overseas - some large and some quite small. She has a particular association with about 150 in all. Among those that boast her as patron or president are:
- Relate
- Help the Aged
- British Red Cross
- Barnardo's
- The British Lung Foundation
- National Aids Trust
- Centrepoint
- Turning Point
- Foundation for Conductive Education, Moseley
- Serpentine Gallery, London
- Ty Hafan children's hospice, South Glamorgan

Scotland and northern England bear brunt of sting in winter's tail

Barbie Dutter

THE latest blast of winter blew snowfalls of up to six inches yesterday, left thousands of households without power and brought more misery for motorists.

start of the National Hunt Festival. Rural parts of Grampian had several inches of snow, blew snowdrifts by gusts of more than 50mph. In Morayshire, drivers faced sandstorms as high winds whipped soil from fields.

Separating from his wife will reportedly cost £27 million but for "Muck" Flick, unburdened by a day's employment during his 53-year life, the settlement should buy instant relief. However, the dour Rheinlander will continue to suffer the intrusion of the tabloids, which regularly remind their readers that Muck is ultra-rich, professionally idle and sadly confused.

Q2 cover story

MIDLAND NOTICE TO CUSTOMERS NEW INTEREST RATES. Table with columns: Money Master, Premium Business Account, Clients Premium Deposit Account, Treasurer Account. Rows show interest rates for different amounts (Up to £5,000, £5,000+, etc.).

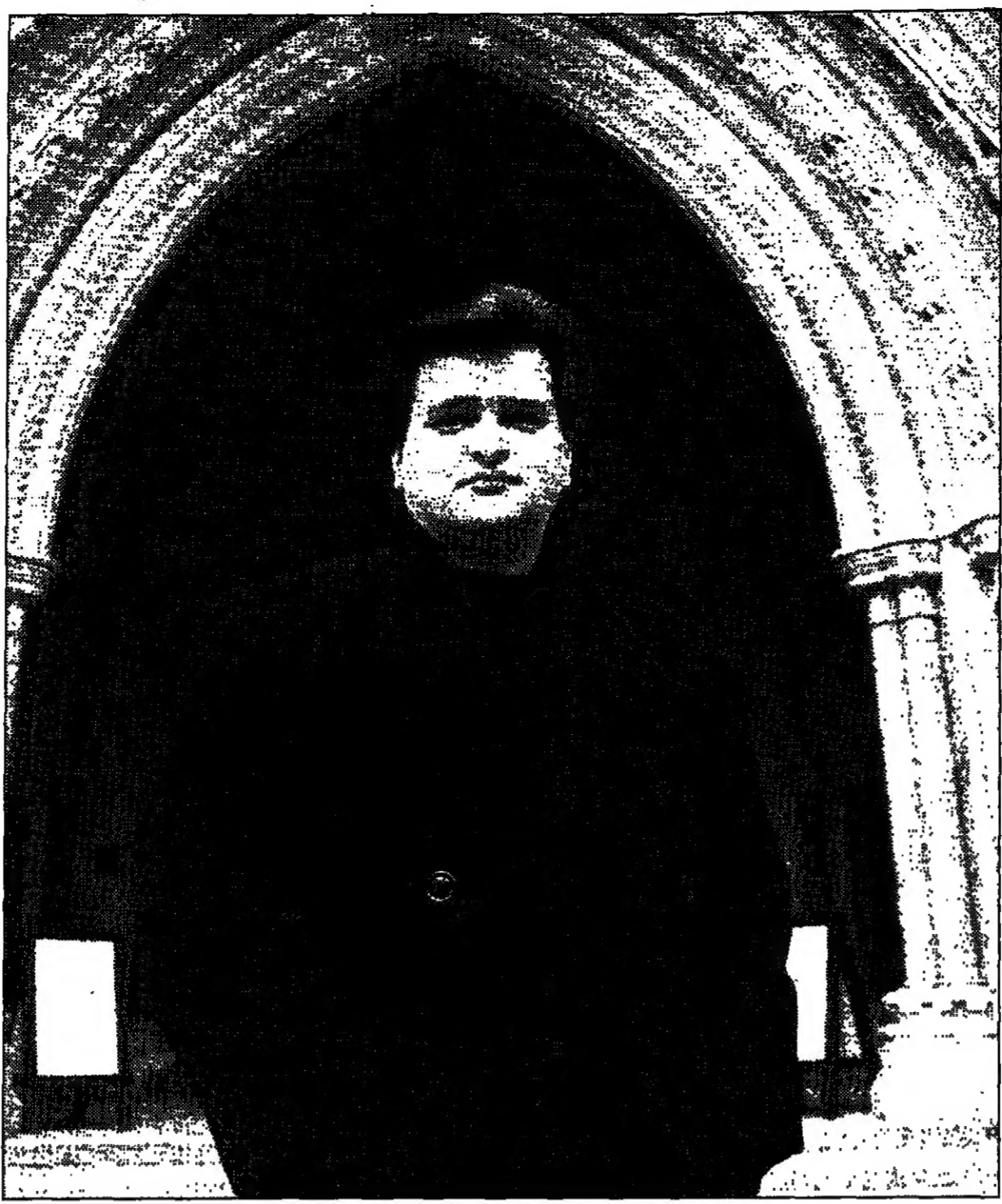
4 BRITAIN

British-born airman vows to continue legal fight as 'sympathetic' appeal judges criticise emirate royals

'Torture' pilot loses court plea to sue Kuwaiti state

Owen Bowcott on a question of immunity

BRITISH-born pilot who claims he was tortured by the Kuwaiti government and members of the emirate's Al-Sabah royal family yesterday vowed to take his test case challenging state immunity to the European Court. Lawyers for Sulaiman Al-Adani, aged 36, failed to convince the Court of Appeal in London that the Gulf state should be made liable through the English courts for the severe injuries sustained when he was beaten by prison guards and scarred by burning petrol. The hearing, which highlighted concerns about human rights in Kuwait, coincided with an international conference at two West End hotels to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the war against Iraq. Organised by the Kuwaiti government and addressed by politicians such as Baroness Thatcher, George Bush, the former US president, and Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, the conference was intended to focus international concern on the continuing human rights abuses of Saddam Hussein's regime. In a unanimous judgment by Lord Justice Stuart-Smith, Lord Justice Ward and Mr Justice Buckley, the court dismissed Mr Al-Adani's appeal. But the judges did express sympathy for his predicament. "The body of the plaintiff has been scarred by what is accepted to have been torture in the same way the body politic is scarred by torture," said Lord Justice Ward. Members of the Kuwaiti royal family were more likely to have been responsible for the injuries than the Kuwaiti state, Lord Justice Stuart-Smith suggested. "[They] had demonstrated their readiness to take the law into their own hands... and subject him to extreme and life-threatening assaults." Mr Al-Adani, who now lives in London and is still undergoing medical treat-



Sulaiman Al-Adani, whose beating and burning has highlighted concerns over human rights in Kuwait. PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN SMITH

British firms still offering 'shock batons' abroad

David Pallister
BRITISH security equipment companies are continuing to offer quotations for supplying electric shock batons to notorious regimes despite the exposure of the trade in torture weapons last year. In a documentary to be screened tonight, Back On the

Torture Trail, Channel 4's Dispatches shows that five companies agreed to supply the batons from third countries for export to Zaire. Last year, the same television team revealed that Royal Ordnance, part of British Aerospace, was prepared to supply thousands of the 60,000 volt sticks to the Lebanon and boasted that RO had sold 8,000 to Saudi Arabia. RO's suppl-

Brent seeks to freeze out Unison

Seumas Milne
Labour Editor
COUNCILLORS in the Tory-controlled London borough of Brent have decided to "de-recognise" Unison, the largest union in the country, in a move effectively without precedent in local government. The decision was taken by Brent's personnel committee, despite advice from officials that ending collective bargaining with the Thatcherite-led council's most significant union could "increase militancy and reduce co-operation". The plan to de-recognise Unison, representing about 2,700 manual and white collar workers employed by Brent, will now go to the full council next month, where the Conservative group has a majority of one. The reason given in council documents is the "unacceptable personal conduct" of Unison's regional official covering Brent, Stuart Barber, who is accused of leaking false information to the local press. "The only means of ensuring that the council no longer has to deal with Mr Barber," a report to councillors explained, "would be formal de-recognition of Unison." Last night Mr Barber dismissed the allegations as lies, described the Tory council leadership as "scallywags", and said the real reason for his "victimisation" was a race discrimination case involving a senior Brent official. Brent has a reputation as a politically maverick council and came under Tory control after two Labour councillors defected in 1991. Since then

the Conservative group has sought to oudo Westminster as a municipal Tory flagship, pushing through a far-reaching privatisation programme and attempting to create an internal business market in the council. The borough is the seventh poorest and most racially mixed council area in Britain. Last month, Hilary Armstrong, Labour's local government spokeswoman, called on the Tory party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, to launch an investigation into what she called the council's "sleaze and mismanagement" after a series of financial scandals. An attempt to end union representation rights in a local authority is believed to have happened only once before: at Adur council in West Sussex, where three small manual unions were unable to agree a lead representative in negotiations. Brent's Tory personnel committee chairman, Sean O'Sullivan, said yesterday: "This council is not into union bashing, but it will not be bashed about by a union. Any illegal strike action resulting from this decision will be considered to be a breach of contract and officers have been instructed to take the necessary action to deal with the problem should it arise." Labour councillors believe that the attacks on Mr Barber are a cover to smash the union in Brent. Chris Humphries, Unison's London regional secretary, said its move to de-recognise the union would be strongly resisted. "Whatever the issues, you simply can't deny the right to union representation to several thousand public service workers."

Providing the low-down

BILL Buttmer, managing director of Compass Safety International, "It's electronic. It gives him a huge electric shock. Low, low current, high voltage." Q: "Right, non-lethal though?" Buttmer: "Oh yes, I mean that's the whole object. Otherwise you'd just shoot the guy. This is basically to make him behave himself." Q: "Right... well, we're not going to need an export licence?" Buttmer: "No, you're not. Because they're coming straight out of Mexico." Q: "And is Zaire going to present a problem at all with this?" Buttmer: "No." Following the first programme in January last year, Strategic Police began investigating a Glasgow businessman, Frank Stott of ICL Technical Plastics, who had demonstrated one of the batons, which are banned in Britain under the Firearms Act. Ministry of Defence police also confiscated one from the Royal Ordnance Factory in Chorley, Lancashire. A report went to the Crown Prosecution Service last April, but no action is being taken until Scottish police finish their investigation.

Labs 'broke animal use rules'

Gary Youngs
A MAN who spent two years working undercover in London animal research laboratories yesterday accused the institutions of breaching government guidelines on animal abuse and called on the Home Office to launch a full-scale investigation. Crispin Iles, a member of the Anti-Vivisection Society, claims he saw a monkey with a metal plate and electrodes bolted into its head, the gasping of several thousand surplus rats, and dogs which had been implanted with pacemakers that would cause heart failure. The laboratories cannot be named. To do so could put the staff and their families at risk. "We have shown that neither the law nor the Home Office Inspectorate can protect laboratory animals. Our report details many instances of both the spirit and the letter of the Government's code of practice being ignored in these laboratories." The Home Office said: "If there is any evidence of floating procedures the organisation should bring it forward and we will look at it." The society claims it was forced to conduct an under-

Rogue Chinese satellite makes inscrutable exit from world stage

Tom Redford
Science Editor
FRESH from the rogue Chinese satellite with the oak shingle heat-shield outside and the diamond encrusted Mao Zedong button inside, plunged to its doom harmlessly over the south Atlantic at 0410 GMT yesterday, the US Space Command said. Alternatively, Russian anti-aircraft defence forces in Moscow said pieces of the satellite crashed into the north-east Pacific at 0325 GMT. The Americans were certain of the fate, if not the precise whereabouts, of the identified flying object that dominated the headlines as it threatened to hit Britain. The blip that represented the satellite simply disappeared from radar screens. The satellite, in earth orbit at 18,000mph, skidded into the atmosphere and vanished. "If it survived re-entry, it should have impacted in the southern Atlantic," said Dave Knox, a spokesman for the US Space Command. Whether the capsule survived, and if it did, what it hit, is a mystery. "Unless somebody finds a piece of it, there's no way to know," he said. Richard Crowther, a space scientist at Farnborough, said yesterday: "The US space command have got it right. It was the Atlantic. I'd like to know how the Russians can identify those pieces as coming from satellites."

High Blood Pressure?

ADVERTISMENT
A new book reveals the latest medical treatments and natural ways to relieve high blood pressure. It is of vital importance to anyone suffering from hypertension, the medical phrase for high blood pressure. Here are a few facts from High Blood Pressure, The Complete Guide to Hypertension. Why hypertension reduces life expectancy. Everyday drugs that may create hypertension. Life style factors that put sufferers at risk. How what you eat influences hypertension. The truth about salt and hypertension. Six exercises to lower blood pressure. How alcohol and smoking affect blood pressure. What drugs doctors recommend. Three simple techniques to reduce stress. How alternative therapies can help. And much, much more. Get all the facts - order your copy of High Blood Pressure, The Complete Guide to Hypertension direct from the publishers and save. To order, send your name, address and book title together with payment (cheque or Visa/Access with exp. date) of £9.95 which includes postage and handling to Carmel plc, Dept HBP2, Alresford, nr. Colchester, Essex CO7 8AP, or telephone their 24 hour order line on 01206 826600 (quoting reference no. HBP2). You may return the book any time within three months for a full refund if not satisfied.

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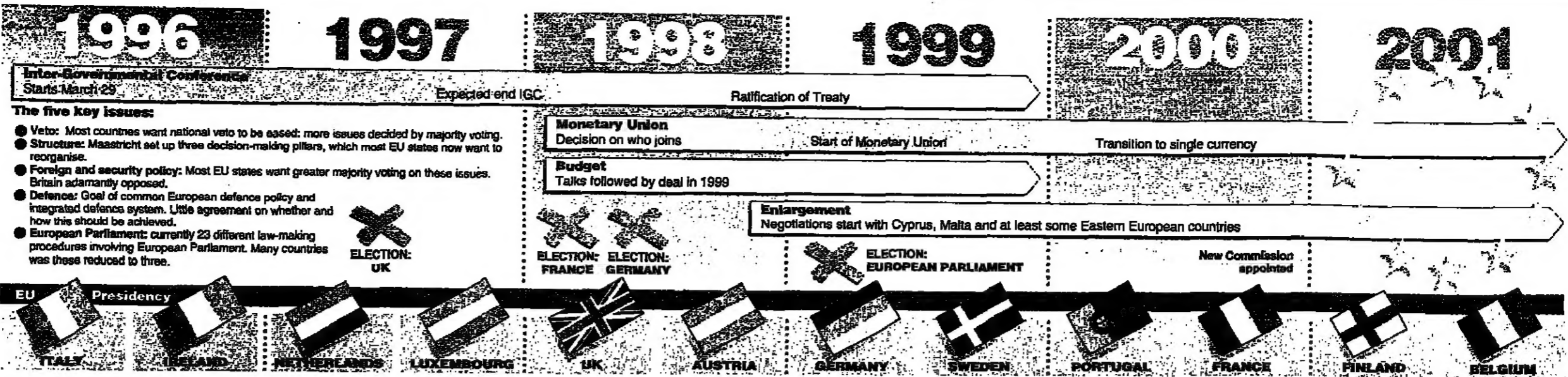
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Cook praises 'positive tone' of statement and backs independence on foreign and home affairs, defence and justice



Europe paper 'avoids the key issues'

Problems loom for Labour on treaty stance

Michael White and Patrick Wintour

ABOUR last night condemned the Government's white paper on the forthcoming Maastricht review negotiations as an attempt "to please everyone that, as a result, will please no one". The paper failed to address three issues which divided the Conservative Party — the proposed European single currency, the social chapter and measures to combat mass unemployment.

Robin Cook also came tantalisingly close to saying that Labour might beat the Government to declaring in favour of a referendum on the single currency. "No British government can join a single currency without the consent of the British people," he told the Commons.

But potential dangers for Tony Blair in the election campaign emerged from two directions during the statement by Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary. Tony claims that a Labour government would abandon Britain's veto across a range of social, industrial and environmental policies, and the evident hostility to further compromise from Euro-sceptical colleagues like Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner and Peter Shore.

Mr Cook, shadow foreign secretary, went out of his way to acknowledge what he called "the positive tone" of much of the statement, and endorsed the white paper's insistence that foreign and defence policy, plus home affairs and justice, should remain outside intergovernmental co-operation, and not become part of the integrated EU institutions.

Welcoming Mr Rifkind's declaration that subsidiarity should be entrenched at the

forthcoming intergovernmental conference (IGC), Mr Cook added: "Our only regret is that this government does not practise subsidiarity in Britain" — by devolving whatever powers it manages to repatriate from Brussels.

As for enlargement of the union: "There can be no greater mission for western Europe than opening its doors to the new democracies of central and eastern Europe, to support democracy in those countries and stability of the borders."

But Mr Cook questioned whether the EU could admit up to 15 more members, "each of them clutching a veto over the full range of issues settled by unanimity". He contrasted Lady Thatcher's embrace of wider qualified majority voting in the drive to create the single market with the Government's threat to discover that opposition to a qualified majority voting was a guiding principle.

For the Liberal Democrats, Charles Kennedy said the Government's strategy for the IGC was in danger of "immediate collapse under the weight of its own internal contradictions". How, for instance, could EU citizens get closer to the union when their elected representative at the European Parliament would not be represented at the IGC?

Tony Euro-sceptics welcomed the white paper, but demanded a tougher approach to the European Court of Justice, seen as the vehicle for ever greater powers for the EU. Nicholas Budgen said that at some stage the Government would have to say no to one of the ludicrous laws that came from Brussels, and demonstrate that Britain needed a looser relationship.

Leader comment, page 5; Will Horton, page 5

'The treaty has failed the people... the Government can only achieve its wish-list by renegotiating it'



BILL CASH
"There is a sense in the electorate in Europe and in the UK — whether one looks at the question of Bosnia, ERM, fishing, monetary union or a host of other matters — that the Maastricht treaty has failed the people."

In order to make the changes to put this right, in the interests of Europe and the UK, there must be changes to the treaty.

Yet treaty amendments require unanimity. How is the Government going to achieve the objectives set out in this wish-list of a white paper, except by renegotiating the Maastricht treaty?



JOHN REDWOOD
"The Government say they want a partnership of nations. They want to protect the powers of Westminster and the British nation to make crucial decisions... that is all fine, but the issue is, 'Is the negotiation position, as defined, strong enough to live up to those good words?'"

In the Commons chamber Mr Redwood pressed Mr Rifkind: "Given the way the European Court is demolishing our fishing industry and our social chapter opt-out, I think the Government will have to come forward with stronger measures... to limit the powers of that court and to reassert our own right to make our own decisions."



EDWINA CURRIE
"I would have preferred a white paper that was much more positive and which proposed really strong changes in the EU which our partners would have supported. But we were not going to get that, although we may in the negotiations. It was a bit thin. Reading it and listening to the debate in the Commons, one wonders why the Government bothered."

So it is five out of ten, could do better, keep trying. It is very rude indeed about the European Parliament which has in it representatives of the British electorate. Britain ought to be doing everything it can to make sure that the parliament works better, and stop being so critical of it."



JONATHAN AITKEN
"It struck some good Euro-sceptic themes, such as new limits on the European Union and on the European Court of Justice and to defend our national opt-outs."

But he added: "I warn you [addressing John Major] that if by any chance those important battles you and your team are going to fight were to fail, or if they were to be surrendered by the so-revealingly new Europhile Labour front bench we heard this afternoon, then for the first time for many years, this House would have to start to seriously consider the option of withdrawal."



NORMAN LAMONT
"The real test is... whether this country can, over the next few years, avoid being sucked into a European state of the kind I discovered at the last intergovernmental conference many of our partners do actually want."

He asked whether there was "any organisation in history which has had an elected parliament, a supreme court, a passport, a right of citizenship and a single currency which has not been a state?"

He added later: "Some of European partners actually do wish to create a United States of Europe. It requires enormous determination to be happy to be isolated, to fight and to resist that pressure."



IAIN DUNCAN-SMITH
"It is still on the cusp of deciding whether we are going to demand an Anglo-Saxon free trading Europe, or which is more rigid and deep. We have got to be much bolder about setting forward our Anglo-Saxon alternative."

The door is opened by the white paper to radical change by the promise of a memorandum on the future of the European Court of Justice, but ministers have got to accept the ECJ is not like a British high court. It has been and always will be a political animal. Ministers will not just look at directives, but also interpret rules and speeches to justify its centralising vision."

EU partners plan delaying tactics in negotiations and hope for deal with 'flexible' Labour government

John Palmer in Brussels
BRITAIN'S European Union partners last night appeared determined to delay the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty review until after the general election, in the hope that a Labour government would prove a more flexible negotiator.

In Brussels, publication of yesterday's white paper confirmed fears that compromise with John Major's

government is now all but impossible.

It is likely that most EU partners will see little scope for agreement with London on the key issues facing the intergovernmental conference (IGC) — extending majority voting, restricting the national chapter opt-out, the 14 of the European Parliament and writing employment objectives into the treaty.

The other 14 governments will now concentrate on hammering out an out-

line agreement among themselves in the hope that they can then conclude a deal with a Blair-led government by the middle of next year.

The Irish government, which takes over the EU presidency from Italy in June, hopes that an outline consensus among the 14 will be reached by the Dublin summit next December, although they do not know whether the election will have been held by then.

"I cannot say there are

any great surprises for us in the white paper. British ministers have clearly signalled their views on the proposed reforms of the European Union institutions favoured by most of the rest of us over many, many months," a senior Irish official said last night.

"Obviously we want to do all we can to reach a consensus including Mr Major. But is that remotely possible? Maybe we will have to wait for a new face in Downing Street."

However, the Commission, the European Parliament and most member states are not yet sure how different in practice policy towards Europe would be under a Labour administration.

The commitment to rejoin the social chapter is welcomed, but doubts persist about Labour's readiness to distance itself from the Conservatives' bitter opposition to some majority voting on internal justice, foreign and security policy.

The European Parliament is preparing for a confrontation with the Council of Ministers over its likely exclusion from the IGC beginning in Turin in two weeks, writes Stephen Bates.

Both Labour and Tory MEPs believe the parliament should have at least observer status. Pauline Green, British leader of the parliament's majority socialist group, said it was "hypocritical" to exclude "the only democratically elected institution in the EU."

'Constructive, realistic, rooted in national interest'

Michael White and Patrick Wintour on the details of the IGC white paper

THE Government's approach to the Maastricht review conference is "constructive, realistic and rooted in the British national interest". But it is determined to resist pressure towards a United States of Europe and will have to be persuaded of the benefits before conceding further decision-making powers to Brussels.

This is the main thrust of yesterday's white paper. Drafted in the Foreign Office, its pragmatic tone remains unmistakably committed to the belief it states clearly in the opening paragraph — that "the UK's role as a leading member of the EU is vital to our national interest."

The European Union must never become "a cosy, inward-looking club," the white paper says, and it warns against pressures for "tighter political integration, more centralisation, more conformity and corporatist economic solutions to perceived difficulties of the free market."

But its underlying assumption — that the European Union is "more than a free trade area" — colours the 27 page summary of Britain's broad negotiating attitude, with 12 pages of detailed annexes, ahead of the intergovernmental conference (IGC) in Turin. Though it seeks to balance the arguments, Euro-sceptics will not be pleased. The Government endorses

the view that the union must respect cultural and political diversity, and do "only what needs to be done at a European level and do it well".

It endorses the "variable geometry" view of EU development against the two-tier or "inner core" view sometimes espoused by France and Germany. "Above all, we wish to be guided by a cool assessment of British interest. Common European decision making, as opposed to co-operation, can only be justified where it brings benefits for British security, prosperity and quality of life which are so significant that they justify some loss of unfettered national control over decision-making in the area concerned, or where common action enables nation states to exercise joint control which is not open to them individually," a key paragraph says.

The Commission

The white paper repeats Whitehall's commitment to entrenching "subsidiarity", the doctrine that nations or regions handle as many decisions as possible. It proposes a "sunset clause" which would kill proposals from the European Commission if they were not adopted by a deadline, and it presses the case for greater deregulation.

It wants means of letting the Council of Ministers seek an early opinion from the

Court of Justice when a member state disputes the legal basis on which the Commission is acting. It also wants to limit community action "through the back door" such as invoking health and safety to extend social policy, and tighter monitoring of commission powers.

Council of Ministers

It signals Britain's refusal to concede any more policy control to a qualified majority voting system, while saying there is a "strong case" for the big four states — Germany, France, Britain and Italy with two-thirds of the EU's population but only 10 votes each out of 87 in total — to have greater voting weight.

Without reaching a final conclusion on how to protect small states' rights too, it favours a "second voting criterion" like population.

The European Parliament

It is "most likely to win public support" by developing its role as a restraint and monitor on "fraud and mismanagement". It does not need new powers and certainly not at the expense of national parliaments whose role in holding ministers to account is entrenched in Maastricht.

European Court of Justice

The court's interpretations sometimes seem to go beyond what governments intended in framing EU laws. The Government would like the IGC to examine strengthening the power of the court to limit retrospective application of its judgments; introducing the principle that member states should be liable for damages only in cases of serious and manifest breaches of their obligations; applying national time limits to all cases based on EC law except where the members state's failure to implement a directive is manifest breach of its obligations; an internal appeals procedure; an accelerated procedure for time-limited cases and a treaty provision clarifying the application of subsidiarity in the interpretation of EC law.

Common foreign and security policy

It is in Britain's interest for the EU to act together as much as possible on the world stage, but such policy must not replace national policy.

If there is no collective will to act, it is unwise to force action through artificial voting procedures. States have already agreed at Maastricht that they should try not to vote in the way which has majority support.

Defence policy

The white paper insists that issues of defence go to the heart of national sovereignty. Decisions to send servicemen and women to risk their lives are for national governments accountable to national parliaments. Member states must be free to act in defence of their national interests.

European defence co-operation

European defence co-operation must therefore be organised in such a way that, while bearing their full share of the burden within Nato and without building structures that duplicate those already available in the alliance, European countries are able to act on their own when necessary. The Western European Union, rather than the EU, provides the best basis for European defence co-operation. Its separate intergovernmental treaty base ensures that decisions on defence policy are taken by consensus and remain where they belong — with sovereign nation states.

Justice and home affairs

These are matters of high domestic political sensitivity involving questions of national sovereignty such as the rules governing the admission of third country nationals to member states, operations of police and customs authorities and the criminal justice system. There can be no question of supranational solutions imposed on member states in the areas regardless of national sentiment or varying social and legal traditions.

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Chronicle of a genocide foretold

Victoria Brittain assesses the bitter truths behind UN chestbeating over its failure in Rwanda

IN EARLY January 1994, three months before the genocide in Rwanda in which about 800,000 people were killed, the United Nations force commander in the capital, Kigali, sent his superiors in New York a coded cable. It revealed the Rwandan security forces' training of inter-hutu Hutu militia, their boast to be able to kill 1,000 Tutsis in 20 minutes, plans for political assassinations and the forced withdrawal of Belgian troops, and the existence of a large weapons cache in the capital. The UN chose to do nothing, and its moral authority was fatally undermined by its attempt to pretend it did not know genocide was coming.

This is one of the principal conclusions of an unprecedentedly self-critical report on the Rwandan tragedy, published yesterday, which was sponsored and financed by several UN agencies and by governments and non-governmental organisations from 37 countries, led by Denmark. Almost every level of the UN organisation comes under criticism for failing to respond to the genocide. "Humanitarian aid was substituted for political action," Niels Dabelstein, chairman of the report's steering committee, said. The report's embarrassing findings and its challenging political recommendations have been welcomed by many within the UN and the main

donor countries implicated in the failure in Rwanda. "No one in the donor community can afford to ignore this," one aid official said yesterday. The lessons for the desperate crisis in Burundi, Rwanda's own continuing instability, and the seemingly insoluble problem of nearly 2 million refugees still in Zaire and Tanzania almost two years after the genocide, were clear, the official said. In the first weeks of the systematic killings, the UN secretary general himself, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, was not on top of the situation and misjudged it, the peacekeeping department was paralysed, and the Security Council could not get its act together and did not regard

Rwanda as strategically important, said one of the report's independent experts at the launch in London of the five-volume document. "The UN failed the test, the early warning signals were simply not heard," said Astri Suhrke, a Norwegian academic and joint author of the most critical section of the study which reviewed the failure of early-warning systems and conflict management. "Was it possible to organise the machinery of death without the world knowing, in a country where there were numerous UN organisations including a military force overseeing a peace accord, many NGOs, and where France was very heavily involved with the government's machinery in every sphere, from economic to military?" Ms Suhrke asked. France is the only sponsor of the report to have with-

drawn its support when officials saw the first draft and demanded amendments, which were only partly accepted by the independent authors. "Several agencies that came in for harsh criticism stayed with the project — it is a powerful tool, it provides ammunition for those who really want reform in the UN," said Mr Dabelstein, a Danish foreign ministry official. Various UN aid agencies were among the organisations criticised for their work during the refugee crisis in the aftermath of the genocide. The report says they were beset by competitive tensions, confusion over their roles,

and lacked a clear lead from one co-ordinating agency. The 300 non-governmental organisations — with some honourable exceptions such as Oxfam and Médecins Sans Frontières — suffered from the same problems. Some were so poorly managed that they may have contributed to deaths, the report said. The media were sharply criticised for irresponsible reporting which too often portrayed the genocide and the targeted killings of politicians as mere African tribalism. Only the BBC and La Monde were named as exceptions. The report says they were beset by competitive tensions, confusion over their roles,

said one of the report's authors. The media's concentration on the visually dramatic story of the refugees was also partly responsible for diverting resources into camps and away from survivors. As mass interest ebbed, 50 have donor commitments. Recent appeals for Rwanda asked for \$285 million (£180 million) for 1996. Just \$1 million has been received. "In post-genocide Rwanda, rhetoric has not been matched by resources for human rights or rebuilding the justice system," said David Tardif-Douglas, a Washington-based consultant and co-author of the report's section on reconstruction. Only a regional solution can solve the Rwandan refugee crisis and at the same time hope to avert a complete collapse of the state in

Burundi and Eastern Zaire, said officials said yesterday. The report's recommendations include: ● the creation of a small, powerful humanitarian sub-committee within the UN Security Council to focus on preventive diplomacy; ● a beefed-up co-ordinating role, with adequate funding, for the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs which has been emasculated by more powerful UN agencies; ● a recognition of the important role played by regional organisations, such as the Organisation of African Unity; ● a clear UN mandate to protect civilians; ● better regulation and accountability of NGOs.

The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience. Available from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Allies at odds over Nigeria

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

BRITAIN is working to persuade the United States not to pursue proposals to ban foreign investment in Nigeria and freeze the African country's financial assets abroad as a way of punishing its military regime for human rights abuses. Baroness Chalker, the Foreign Office minister, is to tell her counterparts in the state department next week that such moves would be premature, since the US has not followed Britain and its European Union partners with the limited punitive measures imposed after the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists last November. Foreign Office sources say any new measures — contained in a letter from the US president, Bill Clinton, to the Prime Minister, John Major, last month — would be ineffective without an oil embargo. And since the US buys 90 per cent of Nigeria's oil — which provides the government in Abuja with 90 per cent of its foreign-exchange earnings — this move is not being considered. "The US hasn't thought this through," Baroness Chalker said. British officials are particularly scornful of an additional US proposal that joint sporting events with Nigeria end — but only when this year's Atlanta Olympics are over. Despite the punitive action against Nigeria, the country's military ruler, General Abdulsalam Abacha, has still not agreed to receive a team of Commonwealth foreign ministers formed after Nigeria's sus-

pension from the organisation to consider measures against the regime. Sources in Whitehall say the Treasury, reluctant to damage London's position as an international financial centre, is strongly against the freezing of assets, which in the absence of a United Nations Security Council resolution, would require special legal powers. Any such move would also be anticipated by Nigerians holding assets abroad. Britain has imposed an arms embargo, tightened visa controls, suspended non-humanitarian aid, expelled Nigerian military personnel and withdrawn its own defence attaché. But the High Commissioner has returned to Abuja on the grounds that his presence was required to smooth the path of the Commonwealth mission. "The package is supposed to establish our seriousness prior to re-engaging the military regime in order to secure a speedy passage to democracy," a US official told the New York Times. Gen Abacha has promised to hand over power to civilians in 1998. But the military annulled Nigeria's last democratic elections in 1993. Britain and other European countries demand that incoming new foreign investment — which totalled \$1.95 billion (£1.2 billion) in 1994 — would merely deliver another blow to Nigeria's crumbling economy, affecting the poor and not their corrupt military rulers. A consortium of British, Dutch, French and Italian oil companies has just signed a contract to build a \$3.8 billion natural gas liquefaction plant in eastern Nigeria.



State of alert... Taiwanese troops gather on the western island of Penghu yesterday, amid fears that China might try to seize an islet held by Taipei

PHOTOGRAPH SHIPAN KWONG

China shows its teeth with live-fire exercises

Andrew Higgins in Taipei

AS TWO United States aircraft carriers lumbered towards Taiwan for perhaps the biggest display of American power in Asia since the Vietnam war, China yesterday began live-fire war games with naval manoeuvres and bombing runs in the strait between Taiwan and the mainland. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) launched its latest show of force as fears mounted in Taipei of a Chinese assault on one or more of the small and lightly defended islands held by Taiwan along the coast of China.

Taiwanese troops have begun digging roadside trenches in the heavily fortified islands of Quemoy and Matsu. A more likely target, however, would be vulnerable islets that could be seized with little or no combat. "They want to show their teeth," said Andrew Yang of the Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies, a think-tank close to the Taiwanese military. "They are trying to push Taiwan to a political settlement entirely on their terms." The seizure of a small island would mark a dangerous escalation and force the US to define what is still officially a policy of "strategic ambiguity" towards China's sabre-rattling. By next week, Washington should have two naval battle groups, led by the nuclear powered carriers Nimitz and Independence, in the sea off Taiwan. Quemoy was at the centre of a confrontation in 1996 between Taipei and Beijing that also brought US carriers to the region. A reinforced garrison of up to 50,000 troops there is preparing to raise its combat preparedness to one level below that of imminent war, newspapers reported. China views the test of wills as an internal affair but the issue has mushroomed into a volatile international crisis. No side seems to want war

but the risk of accident or miscalculation grows daily. The US assistant secretary of state, Winston Lord, said the US naval deployment was a gesture "to reassure our friends in the area that we have a big stake in the stability and peace of that region." China takes a different view. "The United States should be careful that it doesn't send the wrong message to Taiwan authorities that it supports their splittist activities," the foreign ministry spokesman, Shen Guofang, said. "If that message were relayed to Taiwan, it would create real danger." In the run-up to Taiwan's first presidential election on

March 23, China's apparent aim is to put voters of President Lee Teng-hui, who is seen in Beijing as a closet champion of Taiwanese independence. The result seems to have been the opposite. The Hong Kong newspaper Ming Pao said yesterday that China planned to apply yet more pressure next week, with a new, bigger round of military exercises that would effectively blockade much of Taiwan. President Lee yesterday mocked "surrenderism" and vowed to stand firm. "There is only one thing that you must not change, and that is love of Taiwan." There is no sign of panic in

Taiwan yet, despite relentless media coverage of the Chinese military. An opinion poll yesterday showed 64 per cent of respondents unworried by the possibility of war, although only 22 per cent believed China did not have the ability to attack. Opinion was evenly divided on whether Taiwan could defend itself, with a majority welcoming US warships. Some fear Washington may stoke the tension. Edward Chen, a legislator for the pro-independence New Party, said: "Many young officers in communist China demand war so they can be promoted. America should not help them to get their promotions."

Mullahs frown as Pakistanis get up and dance

Under Benazir Bhutto, discos, music and fashion are no longer taboo, writes Suzanne Goldenberg in Karachi

THE well-dressed woman leaned forward to tap the shoulder of one of the young people who had been driven into a heaving, sweating frenzy by the musicians on stage. "Your dancing is very sweet and refined, daughter, but why are you in the middle of all these men?" While parents disapprove and mullahs sputter with rage, Pakistan is undergoing a cultural revival. This week's concert by Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, who sings *qawals* (devotional music) and has collaborated with Peter Gabriel, was one of 18 gala events to celebrate the cricket World Cup — and announce the return of dancers, pop musicians, folk singers and fashion designers from the cultural wilderness. All the events have been broadcast on state-controlled Pakistan Television, offering a potential audience of 75 million their first glimpse of activities that have been taboo

since General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq imposed his version of Islamic dictatorship nearly 20 years ago. "Dance was looked on as revolutionary and un-Islamic. We failed to recognise our own classical dance because we felt it came from India," said Nighat Chaudhry, Pakistan's leading exponent of *kathak* classical dance, who gave the first televised performance. "It was stifling. It was a real struggle to perform." But the atmosphere has been improving slowly since Benazir Bhutto returned as prime minister in 1993. Last year, the country's first 24-hour private radio station went on air trying to win over middle-class audiences that had long since switched off the dreary state-controlled network. FM100 plays a mix of Western and Pakistani music, punctuated by phone-ins; there is no censorship. FM100's current number

one, by Lahore singer Abrar, is Let's All Go to Billo's House, complete with nudge-nudge lyrics along the lines of get your tickets, boys, and wait your turn. Which is another country from the experience of Salman Ahmed when he performed his patriotic song My Heart is Pakistani on TV seven years ago. "There was this huge hullabaloo. My friends told me: 'Don't go out in public or they will shoot you.' Some mullahs smashed up television sets," Mr Ahmed recalled. Music-haters have been vocal this time around too. The Jamaat-Islami leader, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, issued a fatwa against the World Cup television specials — "a conspiracy of the Zionist-Hindu lobby" — and accused the government of promoting obscenity. In the upper house, Islamist senator Maulana Samiul Haq called the director of Pakistan Television a harlot who was turning the country into a brothel. "Showing young girls and boys dancing and twisting together goes against Islam"

wrote letters to the newspapers blaming the programmes for weakening the resolve of Pakistani cricketers before they were knocked out of the quarter finals. The director, Ra'ana Shaikh, is undaunted. "It is an outlet for young people," she said. "For a nation to be complete, culture is as essential as food or religion." But Ms Shaikh's glasnost has done little for the fortunes of the former cricketer Imran Khan, who has been banned from state-controlled television even during the World Cup. Freedom still has its limits. Ms Chaudhry has been advised not to wear the traditional *ghungroos*, or anklets of bells, for her television performances because they are

seen as too daring, a reminder of courtesans. She and others reject the idea that music and dance are un-Islamic. "Zia's form of Islam had nothing to do with his way of governing," said Mr Ahmed, now a guitarist in the rock group Junoon. Adjusting to the new freedom is proving complicated. "During the Zia years we became indoctrinated to the extent that we started censoring ourselves," said magazine editor Fifi Haroon, a former singer and fashion stylist. Although religious parties have only a smattering of seats in parliament, they have a disproportionate influence. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan said earlier this month that non-Muslims and women continue to suffer discrimination on religious lines. "You have pockets of open society and then a lot of deeply conservative people. You have a lot of extremes," said Ms Haroon. "Benazir treads a thin line. Evertime there is a backlash, she makes a conservative statement to prove she is a true Muslim woman."

News in brief

UN report damns Sudan

A United Nations report yesterday accused Sudanese authorities of rampant human rights violations, ranging from executions and systematic torture to tacit encouragement of slavery, kidnappings, rape and child trafficking. — AP.

Magistrate held

Rome's chief examining magistrate was arrested in an anti-corruption investigation launched by Milan's "clean hands" prosecutors. Renato Squillante, aged 52, was arrested at dawn and his offices were searched. — Reuter.

Women freed

Kidnappers yesterday freed a German and a Swiss woman who were abducted in northern Costa Rica more than two months ago and held for a \$1 million ransom. — Reuter.

Hippo kills tourist

One person drowned and one was injured after a hippopotamus capsized a canoe carrying French and German tourists on the Zambezi river, Zimbabwe tour leaders said. — Reuter.

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Uneasy alliance faces criticism on human rights

Parliament backs Turkish coalition

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

THE new centre-right coalition government in Turkey won a vote of confidence in parliament yesterday. But it faces strong opposition at home to a rapid privatisation programme, and increasing criticism from abroad on human rights.

The Motherland-True Path coalition won easily by 257 votes to 207, with 80 abstentions. "I am grateful to parliament for expressing confidence in our 3rd Republican government," said the new prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, leader of the Motherland Party. "With this result, Turkish democracy has overcome a difficult test."

He was congratulated first, with kisses on both cheeks, by Necmettin Erbakan of the main opposition Welfare Party, then by his coalition partner, Tansu Ciller of the True Path Party. But the smiles were not expected to last long.

Mr Erbakan feels he and the electorate were cheated when Welfare won most votes in the December general election but was denied a share of power. Its radical Islamic policies were seen as a threat to the principles of the republic

established by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s and the other four, avowedly secular, parties in parliament rejected its coalition overtures.

His 158 MPs form the biggest bloc in parliament and will give the government a rough ride. There is already tension within the coalition. Mrs Ciller feels she was pressurised into stepping down as prime minister to make possible the centre-right coalition demanded by the media, the business community and, apparently, the armed forces.

Personal differences between herself and Mr Yilmaz had blocked previous efforts to come together during 10 weeks of negotiations following the election. Mrs Ciller will now retire to the backbenches until it becomes her turn to be prime minister at the end of the year, under the first rotational arrangement in Turkish history.

But the government may not survive that long. It is 15 seats short of an overall majority and won the confidence vote comfortably only because of the tacit support of MPs of the Democratic Left Party, who abstained. Their leader, Bulent Ecevit, has warned that from now on the coalition is on its own. "Our party has a debt or link to the government," he said.

It will vote against government proposals to speed up the privatisation of state industries and may oppose the renewal of the mandate for Operation Peace on the March, the US-led mission protecting the Kurds of northern Iraq with an air umbrella, which expires at the end of this month.

Mr Yilmaz has abolished the post of human rights minister in the government and the subject received no mention in his programme. There has already been international criticism of an apparent tightening of laws limiting freedom of expression.

Turkey's best-known author, Yasar Kemal, received a 20-month suspended sentence last week for an article he wrote on the Kurdish problem. Ninety-eight intellectuals will appear in court today on charges of spreading separatist propaganda.

As the vote of confidence was being taken, human rights activists were besieging a court near the western city of Izmir, where 16 teenagers, aged between 14 and 18, were being tried for membership of an extreme left organisation. Girls and boys among them have said they were stripped, beaten, sexually abused and given electric shocks while in custody.

World leaders fly in for four-hour summit

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

IT may not be an effective way to counter terrorism, but today's 27-country summit in Egypt will at least be brief.

The presidents, kings, prime ministers and other officials will have just four hours to discuss political violence and the Middle East peace process in Sharm el-Sheikh before putting their names to a declaration which has already been drafted.

President Bill Clinton will fly in today. He will be joined by the Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, the Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat, and other leaders including Boris Yeltsin, Jacques Chirac, Helmut Kohl, and John Major.

Morocco, Jordan, all the Gulf countries, and, of course, Egypt will also attend. Syria and Lebanon are boycotting the summit because, they say, it is a narrow, self-serving, Israeli-led summit. The summit is expected to be a prime target of the final communiqué, has dismissed the sum-

mit as a US and Israeli ploy to divert attention from Palestinian grievances.

Last night, in a surprise move, a Libyan minister arrived in Cairo en route for Sharm el-Sheikh. Diplomats said that Jonas al-Fozzani would deliver a message to President Hosni Mubarak.

The Libyan news agency Jana said yesterday: "Vital Arab issues are being horribly abused for the sake of the electoral victory of their enemies."

President Clinton and Mr Peres hope that the summit will boost their re-election chances. Mr Peres in particular is desperate for a diplomatic triumph to balance the disastrous effect on his opinion poll ratings of eight days of suicide bombings which claimed 62 lives.

Mr Peres has described the summit as "a very impressive show of solidarity with Israel" and his government has with it narrow, self-serving, Israeli-led summit. The summit is expected to be a prime target of the final communiqué, has dismissed the sum-

foreign minister, Ehud Barak, called for summit talks, as well as words. "We do believe that Sharm el-Sheikh is important not only for its political significance and symbolic value, but in terms of the concrete results and the mechanisms to ensure concrete actions in the future in many areas," he said.

The popular mood in Israel was better summed up by Brigadier General Yaakov Amir, a military intelligence officer, who reportedly told a Knesset (parliament) committee that in his opinion the summit would not produce significant results.

"Anyone who expects practical results from the conference is naive," he said. "The summit is a waste of time. Britain, meanwhile, said yesterday it would do everything it could to help fight terrorism. "We will do all within our power to help combat the terrorists, in co-operation with the Israeli and Palestinian authorities," said the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, said.

Twin babies die in Israeli siege

Jessica Berry in Ramallah

THE Israeli blockade of the West Bank and Gaza Strip claimed two more lives yesterday as a 21-day-old boy apparently died when his ambulance was delayed at a military checkpoint.

The mother gave birth to the second baby in the ambulance, according to a Palestinian source. Long queues at an Israeli military checkpoint prevented the vehicle from passing, the source said.

The Israeli army last night confirmed the deaths. On Monday, a 21-day-old boy died when his ambulance was prevented from crossing an Israeli military checkpoint. An elderly woman died after she was forced to wait for five hours in her ambulance at the Gaza checkpoint. Israeli authorities said ambulances had smuggled weapons in the past and therefore had to be inspected.

Mustafa Barghouti, president of the Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees, said the blockade had paralysed health services. "Emergency facilities are completely inaccessible to the majority of the population," he said. An Israeli consignment of emer-

gency medical and food supplies into Gaza yesterday is unlikely to cure the misery for long.

Eight cities and 465 towns and villages have been completely cut off from the rest of the West Bank town of Ramallah, who has been unable to get to his classes in Jerusalem for two weeks.

"Each village is separated, like an independent country," said Radwan Yasmin, a teacher in the West Bank town of Ramallah, who has been unable to get to his classes in Jerusalem for two weeks.

The military blockade is Israel's collective punishment for Hamas' suicide bomb attacks that have killed 62 people in the last two weeks.

"The closure is to punish people only; there is no security benefit [to Israel]," the chief Fatah leader in Ramallah, Marwan Barghouti, said yesterday. Fifty-three Europeans, Americans and Canadians said yesterday they had been unable to leave the Gaza Strip for the past week because of the blockade. Diana Mackintosh, an English teacher from London, said the only foreigners allowed to leave or enter the strip were diplomats, journalists and United Nations workers.

UN monitor says Iraqi arms checks will continue

Ian Black Diplomatic Editor

UN monitoring of Iraqi weapons programmes may have to continue for another 12 to 20 years, according to Rolf Ekens, head of the United Nations Special Commission, Unscsm.

Mr Ekens told a conference in London that only the close involvement of the UN Security Council had finally forced a teacher in the West Bank town of Ramallah, who has been unable to get to his classes in Jerusalem for two weeks.

"We are very concerned that these incidents could form part of a pattern," he said. "They also demonstrate something odd and disturbing: that five years after the ceasefire Iraq still considers it of value to keep alive the option of weapons of mass destruction."

On Monday Baghdad temporarily banned UN inspectors from checking a site for documents and materials, fueling suspicions that the Iraqis might be trying to move or destroy incriminating evidence. After an 11-hour wait, the team was finally allowed into the installation near Baghdad, which Iraq said was a Presidential Guard training centre. Last Friday it was barred for 18 hours from searching what Iraq said was its irrigation ministry.



Cheering sight... A Bosnian Muslim celebrates the arrival in Lidza yesterday of police from the Bosnian Croat-Muslim Federation

Refugees flood back to gutted suburb

As the Bosnian flag flies over Lidza, some Muslims are ready for reconciliation with former Serb foes. Julian Berger reports

THE main road out of Sarajevo was jammed yesterday with thousands of refugees driving or walking across old siege lines to find what was left of their homes in the outlying town of Lidza, after four years of war. Muslim refugees returning from Sarajevo.

A joint Italian-French force has stepped up 24-hour foot and mounted patrols in Orbavica, the last separatist-held suburb where remaining civilians are under threat from Serb extremists trying to force them to leave.

The commander of the Nato-led peace implementation force (IFOR), Admiral Leighton Smith, said yesterday: "We're doing everything we can short of shooting people."

The policy reversal came too late to prevent a Serb exodus from the Sarajevo region, casting doubt on the city's and the country's chances of restoring their pre-war multi-ethnic character.

An estimated 2,000 Serbs remained in Lidza - far more than in the other three suburbs handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation, but less than 10 per cent of Lidza's Serb population when the Bosnian peace accord was signed in December.

"Lidza in a way was a failure because a lot of people have left and a lot of people have been intimidated into leaving," said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR. "A lot of property has been destroyed and a lot of money went to waste."

Hasan and Raba Bajramovic were relatively lucky. They walked up the stairs of their old apartment block expecting to find their flat a burnt-out shell like those of many of their neighbours.

Raba was weeping and could hardly bear to look past their front door, but Hasan strove in and shouted with pleasure at finding an old pair of spectacles he had left behind in May 1992 when they fled into the city.

There and this seemed to put Hasan into a reconciliatory mood. "It was a war," he said. "War always brings certain things with it. I don't even think of hating the Serbs. Whoever stayed on, let them stay."

Huso Mostarac, another returning Muslim, said he would be prepared to live once more with his former Serb neighbours. "But I won't live with all those Serbs who came here from outside Sarajevo and ruined this city."

Other returning refugees have been less willing to bury wartime differences. Alexander Ivanko, the spokesman for the UN police force, said his office had received dozens of reports of harassment of Serbs by people returning to the suburbs. The UN stressed that the federation police were behaving correctly.

The return to Lidza was further soured by a row between Croat and Muslim police, illustrating growing rifts within the fragile federation. Nine Croat policemen arrived in Sarajevo yesterday to take part in a joint Lidza force, but their Muslim counterparts refused to let them wear their own uniforms.

Rather than change into the green of the Muslim-dominated government police, the Croats returned to their base in Kiseljak, 10 miles away.

Nato reported rising tension between Croats and Muslims throughout the country, and Admiral Smith warned yesterday that "the federation is in trouble".

The United States war crimes investigator, John Shattuck, said yesterday he believed Belgrade would hand over to the UN tribunal two suspects held on suspicion of having committed atrocities in the Srebrenica enclave last year.

Mr Shattuck was speaking after meeting Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. He also visited the two suspects, Radovan Kremenovic and Drazen Erdemovic, who were arrested on March 3.

News in brief

Mexican governor forced to step down over massacre

THE governor of the Mexican state of Guerrero, Rubén Figueroa, has been forced to step down over the massacre last June by local police of 17 peasants, despite being cleared earlier this month by a prosecutor he had himself appointed, writes Phil Gunson in Mexico City.

The opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) had consistently demanded his resignation, and on Monday threatened to withdraw from talks on political reform unless he was removed from office.

The PRD's president, Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, called for Mr Figueroa to be confined to Mexico while the supreme court considered the case. Political pressure led the government to refer the case to the court despite the special prosecutor's conclusions.

Auschwitz plan strains ties

Plans by Polish and German developers to open a shopping centre opposite the Nazi death-camp Auschwitz could strain relations between Israel and Poland, writes Matthew Brazzinski in Warsaw.

Yesterday, the speaker of Israel's parliament, Shevah Weiss, called on Poland's president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, to block the project.

No joke

The head of France's private TVI television station, Patrick

Bullets fly as Crete swaps tourism for gun-running

Many islanders are dying in squabbles and accidents, writes Helena Smith in Chania

STRAIT-BACKED Crete is thought to possess a gun illegally. What's more, many have the latest in combat weaponry.

"When we were ruled by outsiders, and especially during the Turkish occupation, Cretans saw guns as being absolutely essential for their survival," says Yannis Geredakis, who edits the leading local daily, the Chaniot News.

Almost every month, the paper reports the death or injury of an islander who has been accidentally shot at a festa where gunfire is seen as a crucial part of the celebrations. "Marriages and baptisms are often turned into funerals," sighed Mr Geredakis, who has written a stream of editorials denouncing the phenomenon.

Correction

Monday's Guardian carried a brief news agency report about the killing of two Israeli soldiers by Islamist guerrillas in south Lebanon. It later emerged that only one Israeli had died. Four others were wounded, one critically.

FBI lures spies and stool-pigeons

THE FBI has found a cunning way of rooting out foreign spies in America - it advertises for them, writes Ian Katz in New York.

The bureau recently placed adverts in two Vietnamese-language newspapers in the United States, seeking to contact "those who had worked for, communicated with or been asked by the Vietnamese Communist regime" to gather intelligence in the US.

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The love of arms is not confined to the highlands, where villagers have long shown contempt for the law. Around the elegant Venetian port harbour of Chania, shops trade in imitation hand grenades, air pistols and hunting rifles. Those willing to invest in the real thing need only venture into the bars and

atavernas in the town's backstreets. Recently there have been shoot-outs between rival arms dealers in the town. Foreigners and locals attempting to smuggle in weapons, explosives and bullets have also been arrested. Police say most of the arms are brought in by ferry boats from Italy, although some have made their way down from the former Yugoslavia.

"We've tightened up security at all our ports and airports and even invested in specially trained dogs from Britain," said a senior police officer in Chania. Schoolchildren receive lectures on the perils of gun culture and video cameras have been installed in big entertainment halls where gun fights often break out.

No joke

The head of France's private TVI television station, Patrick

Those willing to invest in the real thing need only venture into the bars and

Though Mae West wrote her own screenplays and virtually directed her films, we recall her less as a skilled comic than as an overblown caricature, a walking, talking version of the wartime inflatable life preserver named after her.

Marybeth Hamilton

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ADMIRAL

A modest vision of Europe

A sensible enough white paper: now for the hard bit

THE government's European white paper is a more sensible document than seemed possible not long ago, and it enjoyed a tolerably smooth parliamentary baptism yesterday. A year ago, when the European intergovernmental conference seemed likely to overshadow domestic politics, the balancing act which Malcolm Rifkind performed yesterday would have been harder. His document's peaceful reception would have been more difficult to bring off too. But as the general election has neared, the Conservative mood has become more disciplined. The context of European events has favoured the sceptical British stance too. It has all added up to an opportunity, which Mr Rifkind has skillfully taken, to launch a generally constructive IGC policy without having it instantly consumed in the Tory Party's internal European frenzy.

Mr Rifkind's document is unmistakably pro-European. It states without qualification that "The United Kingdom's role as a leading member of the European Union is vital to our national interest". Economically, the EU is "central to our success". Politically, it is "the basis upon which we must consolidate democracy and prosperity across the whole of Europe". In the Commons yesterday, Mr Rifkind said that Britain wants to be at the heart of the debate about the EU "because it is our future". The white paper is full of ifs and buts on point after point, yet the document and its presentation press forward in one direction only — a direction to which a significant minority of the parliamentary Conservative Party and a rather larger part of the party in the country are now obsessively opposed. For the Europhobes who pressed for this white paper to be published it is a profound snub.

The foreign secretary held the line in the Commons yesterday, but there are plenty of reasons for thinking that the

difficult part starts now. The most important of these is the power of unplanned events to rupture even the plastic prose of the Foreign Office's finest drafters. The white paper offers a robust (Mr Rifkind's overused word) defence of the European Court of Justice, but yesterday's Court decision on working hours shows how easily this institutional can grab the political agenda away from the politicians. The decision embodies a problem which the white paper seeks to gloss over and, since the Conservative Right are paranoid about the ECJ, and the likelihood is that the Court's role will not be significantly altered in the IGC negotiations, it is one that will not go away.

The danger of the white paper is that it is an exercise in national self-deception. It paints a vision of the European project which makes current sense in British domestic political terms (providing that there is no huge Eurosceptic revolt) but which is hard to recognise elsewhere within the EU. Few other governments have to propitiate large Eurosceptical wings in their own parties. Few other countries are as troubled by the issues at stake in the IGC. Few support the same "partnership of nations" philosophy of Europe as the Conservatives. Mr Rifkind may have managed to unite the Conservative Party for a time. He may even have secured general all-party support for many of his proposals (Robin Cook was notably low-key in his response yesterday). But he has not won the argument in the rest of Europe, where they see things very differently. Once the talking starts at Turin later this month, the picture painted in the white paper will get a lot messier. Tory MPs may be willing to give Mr Rifkind his day yesterday, but there are rough times still to come over Europe, many of them on issues which are not even covered by the white paper.



Letters to the Editor

An outcome of incomes

WHAT a refreshing change it was to read John Grieve Smith's well argued case for incomes policy (Coming in on the money, March 11). He is absolutely correct to point out that there is simply no serious alternative to a renewed attempt by an incoming Labour Government to try to establish a rational and rounded incomes policy if that Government is to have a hope of tackling the unemployment crisis.

No doubt the country needs to be reminded that the incomes policies of previous Labour governments — dating back to Sir Stafford Cripps' post-war first attempt to combine a pay policy with full employment — were all far more effective than contemporary critics would have us believe.

Indeed, even the last attempt at incomes policy during the Wilson-Callaghan years, 1974-78, in the shape of the Social Contract, was much more successful for a time than is now acknowledged. It broke down in 1978 following the Government's ill-advised attempt to impose a further 5 per cent norm after three years of quite remarkable achievement by

the trade unions in their bid to help the Labour Government. The fact is that the Callaghan government expected too much to be delivered by a trade union leadership whose authority was already under severe strain. To be sure, there were errors of judgement both by the unions and Labour Ministers. But far too little credit has been given, especially to the trade union leadership at that time, for the efforts and the achievements in the three years before the dreaded Winter of Discontent.

Of course, it is an exceptionally difficult road to tread: an incomes policy, to have any chance of success in modern times, must cover the broadest range of social and economic policy. But surely it is time to re-think the strategy and relevance of incomes policy and John Grieve Smith's proposal of a forum of Government and the two sides of industry, though not a new idea — is well worth exploring.

Geoffrey Goodman,
Head of Labour Government's Counter Inflation Unit (1976-1978),
94 Flower Lane,
London NW7 2JL.

JOHN Grieve Smith is right to warn today's Labour policy-makers that pay policy can no longer be avoided if a Labour government is to seriously tackle unemployment.

The Conservatives have achieved pay restraint but at a price and by means which are surely unacceptable to a left-of-centre government. Labour is deluded if it believes it will not face formidable inflationary pressures in the wake of an election victory.

As the 1978-1979 pay disaster unfolded, I pioneered a personal initiative (I was then an Employment Minister) which secured the support of the leaders of a dozen of our biggest unions. It included a number of proposals on voluntary pay policy, not least a forum for talks between governments, unions and employers to set guidelines or, as we called it, "an indicative norm". But Labour went on to abandon incomes policy, ignoring and distorting its advantages in helping those on low incomes.

John Grant,
Upper Street,
Kingsdown,
Deal, Kent CT14 8BE.

Flick through history shows the past catching up with the present

THE statement that Flick has an "entirely honourable present" (Leader, March 12) would surprise anyone familiar with the largest scandal of recent German history.

In the 1970s, the firm channelled large sums of money, disguised as tax-deductible charitable donations, to several leading German politicians in order to secure massive tax breaks on the sale of shares in American firms.

Dr Friedrich Karl Flick could not be shown to have ordered these transactions and was not charged, but the firm undoubtedly benefited from them, and its managing director Eberhard von Brauchitsch was sentenced to a

term of imprisonment in 1987. As was noted at the time, the payments were in line with the traditions of the house, which had given money to Stresemann and others in the 1920s and to Goering in the 1930s.

As in its use of slave labour from 1939 to 1945, its resistance to compensation for surviving slaves after the war, and its misuse of tax-deductible donations to secure political influence, the firm was not unique. But there's still a difference between being entirely normal and being entirely honourable.

(Prof) Timothy Reaster,
31 Spring Crescent,
Southampton SO17 2FZ.

Still a murky shade of green

Sustainable development in the UK remains a pipedream

WATER is getting cleaner, acid rain has been reduced and noxious power station emissions have fallen substantially according to the first "green audit" of sustainable development published yesterday. The Government undoubtedly deserves credit for deciding to release 120 environmental indicators to enable people in government and industry as well as the general public to assess progress made since the commitments made at the Earth Summit in 1992. These indicators will act as a continuous pressure for environmental improvement. As John Gummer, the Environment Secretary said yesterday, our economy must grow in a way which does not cheat on our children. The trouble with the audit is that it is cheating a bit with itself. Sad to say, most of the major improvements in sustainable development have either been inadvertent or forced on the Government by EU legislation. Thus the welcome improvements to the quality of freshwater and the sea were imposed by the European Commission. Emissions of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxides from power stations have fallen by around 30 per cent since 1970, great. But this is mainly because of EU directives and pressure from European countries which suffered from the fall-out while much of the rest was the unintended consequence of running down the coal industry. This led to the accelerated closure of pits and led to the construction of cleaner power stations through the so-called "dash-for-gas." In

the countryside there has been a welcome 33 per cent increase in the amount of land covered by forests, but hedgerows are still being lost at the rate of 18,000 km every year.

In areas where the Government had it in its power to change things — like energy and pollution from cars — the situation has got dramatically worse. The economy as a whole has, commendably, become much more fuel efficient since the huge increase in world oil prices in the 1970s. This is reflected in the fact that UK energy consumption has remained constant since then while the whole economy (gross domestic product) has expanded by 60 per cent. But the cost of motoring has actually fallen in real terms by nearly 2 per cent since 1974 while bus fares have shot up by 55 per cent and rail fares by 71 per cent. Small wonder that our cities are becoming so congested. Millions of commuters now travel to work singly in cars, much of the time sitting still in traffic jams, instead of sharing a bus or train and using less fuel each per mile. As a result, amazingly, we actually travel far less for each gallon of petrol than we did in 1970 despite vast improvements in fuel efficiency. It would be extremely surprising if privatisation of the railways leads to sharp price reductions so, unless the Government attacks the motorist head on in an election year, sustainable development here will remain a pipedream. As the late Patrick Hutter remarked: progress brings deterioration.

Fraud squad

HARINGEY'S findings are far more alarming than your report suggests (Huge rent rises loom as benefit payments cut, March 12). Voters in Haringey have every reason to be proud that their council is waging a greater campaign against what is serious criminal fraud.

This fraud — in the housing benefit system — is massive and conducted largely by landlords or their agents. It is not Haringey who should be pilloried, but those boroughs who do next to nothing to combat the large-scale financial fraud of the benefit system. The Social Security Select Committee will be highlighting these boroughs in its next report.

Haringey is surveying every landlord who has more than 30 payments of housing benefit made direct into his or her bank account. I cited the survey of the first 16 such landlords. More than \$5.8 million has been paid to these 16 individuals: of this, \$1.2 million had been fraudulently claimed. Amongst this group are housing benefit millionaires, is landlord who gain \$1 million or more a year in housing benefit payments.

Following pressure from the Select Committee, the Government has announced a new drive against fraud. In his statement the Secretary of State appeared obsessed with claimant fraud. Such fraud is wrong. But the point of Monday's debate was that, with limited resources at any one time to fight fraud, it was in the taxpayers' interests that these resources were used most effectively, is against landlord housing benefit fraud.

Frank Field MP,
House of Commons,
London SW1A 0AA.



Our trends in the north

PAUL FOOT'S excellent appraisal of the equally excellent Our Friends in The North misses one subtle nuance of the corrupt socialism upon which much of the drama, hence its emotional grip (Friends I am missing already, March 11). He describes John Poulson as a builder; the story has the Labour councillor conspiring with a Tory builder. The reality was more sordid.

Poulson was an architect, a contemporary and brother-in-arms of such paragons as Sir Richard Rogers and Sir Norman Foster. Post-Thatcher market-place morality has architecture ducking and diving for a living with the rest of business, but in the sixties professional standards were still mercilessly imposed. The involvement of John Poulson in the scandals of the period sent a shudder of distrust and revulsion through the profession from which many believe it has never recovered.

Erhan Green,
Mildrove Farm, Willingham,
Cambridge CB4 5JF.

GREW up in T Dan Smith's Newcastle and have since spent 25 years as a Methodist minister, working in urban communities in the North (mostly in Poulson's West Riding which has been consistently disempowered by London-based financial institutions and their political friends. It was good to have 30 years of political history "beyond Westminster" reflected with such realistic force.

(Rev) Geoff Reid,
30 Merton Road,
Bradford BD1 7RE.

THE final episode was profoundly depressing in its rejection of politics. Those with families (Tosker and the children, Nicky and Mary) have the opportunity to be happy, those without (Geordie, the joyrider, the policeman) can forget it. Is that it, then? Can we do nothing to change society at large, and only seek personal satisfaction?

Ed Horton,
Nixon Road,
Oxford OX4 4BU.

Difficulties with boys

MARK LAWSON'S piece on my Amis diaries (A question of privacy, March 12) may give the impression that I started a journal solely to record the last weeks of Sir Kingsley Amis's life. In fact, I started it months earlier, when Kingsley proposed we do a book together based on tape-recorded conversations. The diary was intended to flesh out the tapes, since Kingsley was as likely to say or do interesting things when the tapes were off as on. Nobody is sadder than I that my diary turned into a record of Kingsley's dying.

The current unpleasantness between Martin Amis and myself over the diary might have been avoided if he had taken the trouble to answer a letter I wrote him in January, in which I asked what I should say if people inquired why I

was no longer editing his father's letters. But perhaps he could not think of a plausible way of explaining why he started a journal solely to record the last weeks of Sir Kingsley Amis's life. In fact, I started it months earlier, when Kingsley proposed we do a book together based on tape-recorded conversations. The diary was intended to flesh out the tapes, since Kingsley was as likely to say or do interesting things when the tapes were off as on. Nobody is sadder than I that my diary turned into a record of Kingsley's dying.

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Filling you in

YOUR report (Dentists drop 1 million patients, March 12) does not reflect the true situation. In England today, there are nearly 36 million patients registered with NHS dentists. Allowing for the improvement in Dental Board procedures to remove duplicate registrations and the annual roll-off of children, total registrations are broadly in line with the July 1, 1992 figure of 36 million. Every patient is deregistered every two minutes is meaningless because it takes no account of registrations.

Gerald Malone,
Minister for Health,
Richmond House,
79 Whitehall,
London SW1A 2NS.

Not guilty

YOUR report on Caroline Beale's repatriation included the words "that led her to kill her child" (Jailed mother back home, March 9). This is wrong. A large body of international experts on pathology and psychiatry were ready to testify in her defence. All agreed she was suffering from a psychiatric illness. There was no evidence of an unnatural death. If the case had come to trial, we feel confident she would have been acquitted.

Jan Brockington,
Professor of Psychiatry,
University of Birmingham.
John Emery,
Emeritus Professor of
Paediatric Pathology,
University of Sheffield.

A Country Diary

TAMAR VALLEY: Days are lengthening fast and the light is increasingly bright across drab pastures. The first daffodils include double lent lilies with brilliant yellow, fat buds, streaked with green and growing on short stems. These were once grown commercially and the dainty, vivid, flowers must have cheered thousands when their brief flowering season coincided with Mothering Sunday. They survive in only a few derelict market gardens where clumps of flowers poke up through flattened, shrivelled bracken fronds with rows of sturdy blue-green leaves and yellow buds discernible under arching brambles. An adjoining stand of later Helios shows tightly sheathed buds, still pointing skywards. Long-stemmed snowdrops were also cultivated, picked and bunched for market and full-out flowers spill and spread in drifts from the low hedgebanks of tiny fields, shaded by sprawling hazels with ochre and brown catkins. Mossy apple trees are covered with berries ivy,

as is the collapsed greenhouse surrounded by a solitary weak shoot of the delicious black desert grape which was once so fruitful. Where bracken and brambles are shaded out by regenerating hazel, blackthorn, willow and oak heart's-tongue, ferns with winter-dulled leaves grow in leafmould scattered with empty nut shells and patches of primrose. This market garden, productive until the 1950s, was staked out with small leisure plots just over 50 years ago. Some were sold through adverts in the national press and these lucky enough to obtain the few reachable sites arrived with their tent or caravan for a few idyllic holidays. As the novelty wore off and the land became overgrown and more inaccessible, fewer returned. Only one flat patch, beside the track, is now visited regularly, the grass cut and bushes pared back. Across the stream, steep ground has reverted to woodland, the beneficiary of isolation and neglect by far-fung owners.

VIRGINIA SPIERS

An unhappy counselling service

Relate and its President have split: a no-fault divorce?

IF there is one organisation which should not be embarrassed by a divorced patron it must surely be Relate, the marriage counselling service. If there is one organisation which should be sympathetic to a divorcing patron behaving in an aggrieved way, then surely it must be Relate. Many people going through the trauma of separation and divorce make wrong decisions. Hence this week's resignation of the President of Relate, Joanna Foster, because of reported remarks of senior Relate officers that they would not be inviting Princess Diana to functions in the coming months because of concern about her leaking details of her divorce negotiations, all makes sense. Above all else, counselling services must remain not-judgmental.

But like many marriage break-ups, the facts are not quite as simple as they look. Relate claims the Sunday Times story is totally untrue. It would not be

the first charity to find itself misrepresented by that particular paper. Relate claims its comments were taken out of context — they were merely explaining there was no immediate plan to use Princess Diana because of her decision to withdraw from charity work. This quote was quite unjustifiably linked by the paper to the decision by the Princess to leak details of her divorce negotiations. Relate says this was a complete fabrication. There are two lessons which can be drawn: a need for robust rebuttals in a world in which there is so much media misrepresentation; and a review of its own internal communications. Why on earth did someone not get in touch with Joanna Foster and tell her the Sunday Times story was less than reliable? Relate should surely understand the importance of one-to-one communication to counter and control the damage which whispers, rumours and hearsay perpetrate.

VOLUNTARY donations to the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children did not fall last year. In fact, they rose by \$2.2 million. The NSPCC depends on donations and the public continues to respond to this need magnificently.

Jim Harding,
Director, NSPCC,
42 Curtain Road,
London EC2A 3NH.

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a telephone number. We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

Diary
Matthew Norman

SAD to relate, my friend Mandy Mandelson has been in the wars once again. First, he was cruelly teased by Patsy Prescott, who thrilled last week's Scottish Labour conference by confusing Mandy's new book with the Chinese satellite. "The fastest spin since the launch of my friend Peter Mandelson's book..." this giant piece of junk...

DAILY Express Cherie-hunter Peter Hitchens calls to dispute my assertion that while an International Socialist, he wore a beard. He says he had no beard, I say he did. He says he didn't, and I rejoice that he did. We are the Soviets and Plato de nos jours.



verdict be reached. I am compelled today to introduce the jury's verdict. You, The Jury, Call 0691 333 521 if you think this man has a beard. If, however, you find him beardless, dial 0691 333 522. Calls will cost no more than 10 pence and lines will close at midnight.

UNIQUELY compelling reason to quit smoking comes from the pro-smoking pressure group Forest. It will hold "a smoker-friendly weekend break" in Dorchester in May, and if the prospect of spending 48 hours marooned among these professional martyrs and pseudo civil libertarians doesn't do the trick, consider this: the Saturday night gala dinner will be hosted by the gifted comedian Jack Douglas.

TILL feeling blue is my friend Terry, who cites the prospect of publishing his book (Major Major, out in paperback in May) as one reason for the gloom. "Some shows are fine, but some try to make you look stupid," he says. Terry, "I've been asked on the Big Breakfast a few times, but how can you talk when they keep pushing those puppets in your face? Maybe I'm old fashioned," he continues. "I do know how to have fun. Richard Madeley of Good Morning - he's married to Judy; she's a very nice lady - said I had a rather zany sense of humour." Terry pauses for thought. "The trouble," he adds, "is that there are so many fine lines in life, aren't there?" Upon this gnominically rhetorical note, we say farewell.

NEWSPAPER advert seeks people aged between 26-30 and keen to change careers, "who can rise to the challenge of the television equivalent of an MBA"; people with a craving for "unrivalled insight and experience in television production and broadcasting". The employer is Live TV, and the most attractive feature of the job is that, for the first year of an 18-month contract, the salary is £0.00. How on earth can the BBC hope to compete?



SHE DROPPED SEVERAL PAGES AND LIVED HAPPY EVER AFTER.

The cost of going it alone in Europe

Commentary Will Hutton

IT HAS become the new centre of gravity of British politics. Europe should be a partnership of nation states. The gains of 40 years of European integration should not be thrown away, certainly, and where there are grounds for friendly collaboration it should be undertaken. But the clock should stop on anything more visionary.

concession from an administration beleaguered by Euroscepticism and now Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party. But the basic thrust remains an undying commitment to intergovernmentalism, the sanctity of the nation state's powers over defence and foreign policy, and the case against extending majority voting - a position that Robin Cook was careful not to oppose. He was as much for the nation state as his counterpart, while managing to open up some red water between Labour and the Government over employment and social legislation. But in truth there was not much more to go on: Labour has no intention of being labelled as Brussels' poodle, so that it is compelled to find merit in the Government's position. That in turn draws its sting in the areas where it does want to criticise.

Yet Britain's political parties should be cautious about congratulating themselves on establishing a position which while selling the pass on the case for European integration is still sufficiently pro-European to inflame the ranks of the Eurosceptics - thus successfully pleasing nobody. For Europe, however reluctantly and unwanted, finds itself playing for very high stakes at the IGC. The notion, quietly promoted in the white paper, that "there may be areas in which it is perfectly healthy for some member states to integrate more

ter and the single currency, but in addition because of the nature of the convergence criteria for monetary union. It was never likely that every member of the EU would be able to qualify in 1999, and thus the beginning of multi-speed Europe was launched. The IGC, with Britain's connivance, will elevate it as the new principle around which Europe should be constructed.

To argue for Europe as a partnership of nation states completely dodges the issue

process of political integration - and that is the implicit agenda of the IGC. For it is not only British Eurosceptics who have noted that there is a crisis of legitimacy of European institutions. Michael Mertes, one of the Chancellor Kohl's closest advisers, is on record as saying that it is difficult for the new Europe to be democratic, because there is no European democratic public - no European demos. But as Michael Maclay, a former adviser to Douglas Hurd, writing in this month's edition of Prospect

is rather different from the British; it is not to turn back from political integration, rather it is to find ways of accelerating it. Britain does hold some cards. It can block development of the European parliament and it can insist that any initiatives that draw on the European budget have to be agreed unanimously - but unless it gives some ground given the new environment it risks being confronted by a de facto European ultimatum. It will be offered opt-outs and derogations from the changes to the new institutions; but it will not be allowed to veto what a majority of the other states choose to do. Striking a few notes and offering a few concessions will not avert a crisis that in some respects is as dangerous as permitting Sir James Goldsmith's obsessions over Europe to effect a new direction in British national policy - yet another extraordinary development in the deformed structure that is Britain's political sovereignty that the white paper invites us to defend to the last is one so fragile that it can be snared by the attentions of a politically ambitious billionaire. Lack of knowings about what is happening abroad is thus matched by self-deception about what is happening at home. A British white paper that is as unambiguously partisan - for example talking dismissively of many continental politicians - who are not only British Eurosceptics who have noted that there is a crisis of legitimacy of European institutions. Michael Mertes, one of the Chancellor Kohl's closest advisers, is on record as saying that it is difficult for the new Europe to be democratic, because there is no European democratic public - no European demos. But as Michael Maclay, a former adviser to Douglas Hurd, writing in this month's edition of Prospect

Swings and roundabouts for statues



David McKie

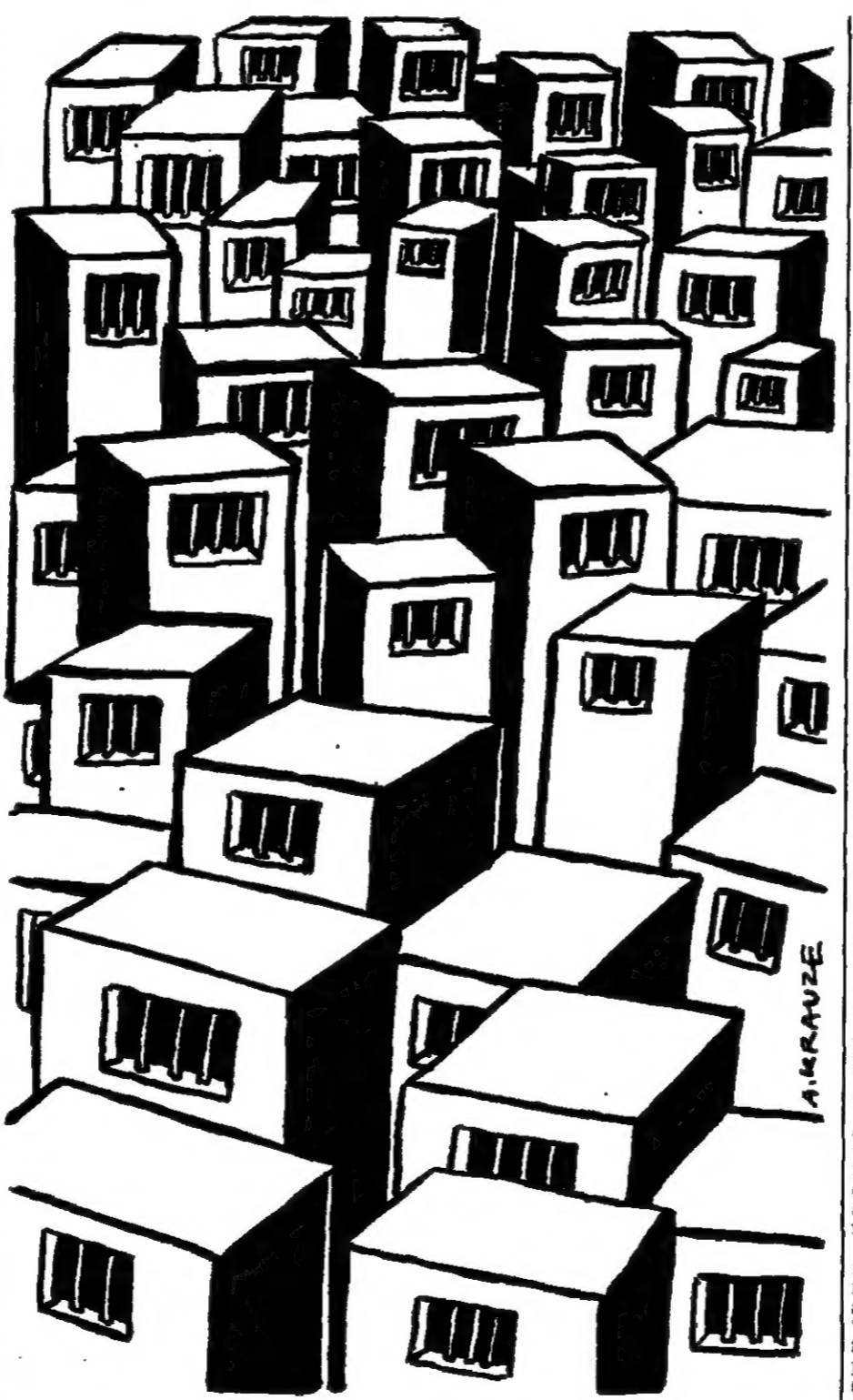
OLD FRIENDS of Harold Wilson are angry at the suggestion that a statue to be erected in his honour in Huddersfield might be sited at the entry to a loading bay, on a multi-storey car park, or even aboard a bridge over the thunderous M62. Even political opponents agree such schemes are an insult: "If you are going to recognise a bloke for what he's done," says one Conservative, "it ought to be in St George's Square, where people can see." The football ground is another suggested alternative, since Harold was a famous supporter of Huddersfield Town FC. But in the days of Wilsonian heroes like Hesford, Willingham and Boot they played on the old Leeds Road ground, not today's dazzling hi-tech McAlpine Stadium. Harold, one of those who have been somewhere more home.

"that was known as the Lion heart". It mystified me as a child what the Black Prince was doing in Leeds, a place which historians suggested never bothered him much in his lifetime. Officialdom explained at the time when they put him up (1903) that the prince was supposed to evoke chivalry, good government, the patronage of arts and education, the encouragement of industry, and democratic values. Precisely what the prince had done to embody democracy is another mystery. In a great Victorian city like Leeds you might have expected the Queen Empress to dominate what, before most of the central area was surrendered to traffic, was one of the most successful squares of the town. In fact, the ground of the Black Prince occupies her former privileged place near the Town Hall. She's been exiled to Woodhouse Moor, and now gazes out on a tract of land best known as the musing ground of the Black Prince, not a group she ever sought to encourage - together with the Leeds City Council Fitness and Jogging Trail, Victoria, in this case, is by George James Frampton, other of those who have been somewhere more home. This is all a little illogical in the sense that to have any force, an insult must be known to the insultee, and that hardly applies with statues, unless they're erected in the subject's lifetime, which few of them are. Even so, one can't help, for instance, feeling for poor Prince Albert, less because of the oblique heaped on the Albert Memorial than for what he is having to suffer at the other end of town. When the statue of Prince Albert on horseback was put up at Holborn Circus, he would have been raising his hat to that quarter's nobility and gentry. Later on the gesture would have been mostly addressed to people shopping at Gamage's department store. Now all he salutes are the cars and buses and lorries which whirl about under his feet. Albert has become a silent witness to the total spent annually on criminal justice) would be required each year over the next decade to revitalise urban areas across the nation.

The US is at war with its own people, incarcerating the vanquished: but this is not the way to tackle crime - either there or in Britain, argues Andrew Rutherford

Enemy behind bars

AS THE primary elections gather pace, Americans are being asked to look beyond the soundbites and platitudes and seriously consider crime and criminal justice. The Real War On Crime, the report of the Independent National Criminal Justice Commission, has emerged as one of those opportunities for people to reflect upon choices which have until now been largely obscured by the demagogic ratcheting of this key political issue. In particular, the report quantifies the number of people in prison.



hower Foundation (whose executive director, Lynn Curtis is a commission member) has estimated that \$30 billion is spent annually on the total spent annually on criminal justice) would be required each year over the next decade to revitalise urban areas across the nation. The urgent message of The Real War On Crime extends beyond the US. Michael Howard is not the only British politician to have opted for aspects of the American way. He has, for example, explicitly endorsed much of the US approach to incarceration. His forthcoming, and much-trailed, white paper will propose "two-strikes" life sentences as the only disposition by the court for a second conviction for an offence which carries a minimum penalty. Further straight-jacketing of the judiciary by means of mandatory minimum sentences for specified offences and the virtual elimination of early release, would be the centrepiece of a final nail in the coffin of calm and constructive approaches to these issues which characterised the late 1980s, and also signals the complete abandonment of a post-war consensus that prison population sizes be regarded as subject to limits, however loosely defined these might have been. It is estimated, by the Penal Affairs Consortium, that Mr Howard's plans (upon which Labour's position is awaited) will add 4000 to the present record prison population in England and Wales. Should this come about, and if present levels of growth were to continue, the millennium would be marked by a prison population of 100,000. In effect, was no longer in the European league but taking its place alongside Singapore. Finally, Michael Howard (and Jack Straw for that matter) should worry about a report which reminds Americans that criminal policy lies at the very heart of how a nation defines itself.

But this experiment is far from drawing to a close. A spate of recent federal and state criminal justice statutes reflecting notions such as "three strikes and you're out" and "truth in sentencing" are beginning to take effect. One independent research group has estimated that the combined impact of this recent legislation (together with one or two other initiatives) may well add a further six million to the total number in prison. It is no wonder that a leading Norwegian criminologist, Nils Christie (a commission member), has warned of the rapidly approaching American gulag. These developments have taken place in the virtual absence of principled debate and informed public discussion. Indeed, for elected officials, dissent around this issue is widely regarded as political suicide.

fund their burgeoning prison system. In California, for example, the state currently spends 8 per cent of its budget on prisons, compared with 3 per cent 15 years ago; state spending on further education over this period fell from 18 to 8 per cent. Estimating the social costs is more complex, but Joanne Page (a commission member, and director of the Fortune Society, an ex-offender organisation) compares the impact of imprisonment to post-traumatic stress disorder. As the report puts it: "Many offenders emerge from prison afraid to trust, fearful of the unknown, and with their vision of the world shaped by the meaning that behaviours have in the prison context... it appears

prison damages a person's mid-range response to the environment, leaving the choice of gritting one's teeth and enduring, or full-fledged attack to protect oneself from perceived danger." But the report goes beyond a critique of imprisonment, and the commission has constructed a series of steps which lead to its "20/30 vision" of a safer and more humane society. These steps include: the war on drugs, which has had devastating collateral consequences, must be replaced with a policy of harm-reduction; fiscal impact statements should be a requirement of all criminal policy proposals; services for the victims of crime must be enhanced; racial and ethnic

bliases must be eliminated from the criminal justice process; all levels of government should create crime prevention councils charged with the duty of developing coordinated strategies which meet requirements; and a public health approach should be developed to reduce the level of violence in America. As the director of the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention puts it: "Violence is the leading cause of lost life in this country today. If it's not a public health problem, why are all those people dying from it?" The commission also urged the nation to reverse current policies and to invest in a new generation of anti-poverty programmes. The Eisen-

What is the point of all these statues? How many who pass them every day notice them, could tell you who they are and why they are there? In the middle of the City Square, Leeds, stands a statue of the Black Prince surrounded by nymph-like creatures with names like Morn and Even, judged so erotic by the city authorities that when workmen were sent to clean them, their creations were wrapped around them so that artisan hands should not be seen by the public appearing to finger the sensual bits. People know it's the Black Prince, and usually seem quite content to have him there. "That's the Black Prince, Edward I," I once heard a proud citizen telling a gaggle of visitors.

Advertisement

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Published by the European Medical Journal

10 OBITUARIES

Alison McCartney

Getting through together

WHEN Dr Alison McCartney, who has died aged 45, spoke at the Living with Breast Cancer conference last October she described not just the process of "getting through" advanced cancer but using her illness as a vehicle for change.



Alison McCartney... used her own illness as a vehicle for change

After visiting Spiegel in San Francisco and seeing some of the groups in action, Alison McCartney set about establishing a similar network of women in London.

She met with significant resistance from within the ranks of her own profession, from the dismissal of the idea as morbid to the old saw that British people don't like talking about emotions.

Lyle Talbot

Sincerely safe with schlock

IT IS difficult to know whether the screen career of Lyle Talbot, who has died aged 94, was a reflection of his talents or associated with some of the worst American films ever made.

As it was made for Monogram, the tackiest of the Poverty Row studios.



Lyle Talbot... a face born for B-movies

lovers of grade two movies, Talbot moved into the world of Saturday morning kid's serials as Gale Carter, Detective (1948) over 15 cliffhanger episodes and as arch villain Lex Luther in Atom Man vs Superman (1950).

entered Talbot's life. Wood's 1953 directorial debut feature Glen Or Glenda was a hilariously awful but well-meaning plea for tolerance towards transvestitism, with Talbot cast as Police Inspector Warren investigating the suicide of the hero/heroine. He then appeared in Wood's stunningly bad Jail Bait (1955) and Plan 9 From Outer Space (1956).

Ronald Bergan

DAVID Godwin, who has died aged 82, was a leading force in the struggle for civil liberties in Scotland. A sometimes teacher, youth worker — no one but David would have taught fencing to Easterhouse gang members — factory worker and forester, he was a former member of the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties in the late 1960s.

Lyle Talbot (Lisle Henderson), film actor, born February 8, 1902; died March 3, 1996

David Godwin

Life and liberty

DAVID Godwin, who has died aged 82, was a leading force in the struggle for civil liberties in Scotland.

Political labels did not hang easily on him. He was a freethinker, a respecter of orthodoxy, a believer in the right to be different.

David Godwin, civil libertarian, born February 9, 1914; died February 23, 1996

Eiman Ali Ahmed

Murdered in Mogadishu

MOGADISHU in the early nineties was a frightening place, volatile and unpredictable. But Eiman Ali Ahmed seemed to have a charmed life: he was threatened, but never harmed; his workshops, packed with tens of thousands of dollars of equipment, were unlocked but never looted.

His enthusiasm was infectious, his message uncomplicated: we want peace

Woman who had lost her own in the war. Eiman turned to the UN for help, to receive and train him. "They told me 'You are not authorised to do this project. Disarmament is our job'."

Eiman Ali Ahmed, peace campaigner, born 1953; died March 9, 1996

Birthdays

Valerie Amos, former chief executive, Equal Opportunities Commission, 42; Lord (Gordon) Borrie QC, chairman, Labour's Commission on Social Justice, 65; Jane Brown, photographer, 71; Sir Michael Cheek, former director-general, BBC, 80; Lesley Collier, ballet dancer, 45; Marion Foale, fashion designer, 57; Lionel Friend, conductor, 51; Christopher Gable, actor, 58; Howell James, political secretary to the Prime Minister, 42; Dick Katz, jazz pianist, writer, 72; James Marshall, Labour MP, 58; Dr David Peace, glass engraver, 61; Air Commodore Helen Renton, former director, WRAF, 66; Neil Sedaka, 66; Peter Viggers, singer, 57; Sir Rex Stacks, botanist, 82; Peter Viggers, Conservative MP, 58.

Death Notices

GREENWOOD, Lucie, aged 72 of Epsom, Surrey, died peacefully on Saturday March 10. She was a highly respected Production Manager and Associate Producer for the film and television industry. She leaves a devoted wife, four children and four grandchildren.

Acknowledgments

Grateful thanks to State Jude for postcard. To place your announcement telephone 0171 733 4667 Fax 0171 733 4122

Jackdaw



A la Carte

WHEN I WAS a child I adored the light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan — the Savoy Operas they are called, and my favourite was The Mikado.

so that what I had seen as a child was a production dating back to 1885 upon which no one had been allowed to make anything more than the most marginal improvements. It was a matter of absolute ritual — for as long as the magic spell of the copyright lasted — that each generation would take its children to see what they had seen — productions which fall prey to such a necrotising tendency that, in the final years of the company, a friend of mine, accompanying a child one evening, actually heard one of the actors call out to another as he left the stage: "Well, love, mine's a double whiskey — what's yours?"

Dear Miss Carmen. It is impossible to contact you by phone since I leave the hotel for business at 7.45 am and don't get back before 5.30 or 6pm. That's the reason I called Mr Kensedder last night. You were already off duty. I only asked Mr Kensedder if he could do anything about those little bars of soap. The new maid you assigned me must have thought I was a new check-in today, since she left another 3 bars of hotel soap in my medicine cabinet along with her regular delivery of 3 bars on the bath-room shelf. In just 5 days here I have accumulated 21 little bars of soap. Why are you doing this to me? S. Berman

Slippery tale

Dear Mr Berman. The assistant manager, Mr Kensedder, informed me this A.M. that you called him last evening and said you were unhappy with your maid ser-

vice. I have assigned a new girl to your room. I hope you will accept my apologies for any past inconvenience. If you have any future complaints please contact me so I can give it my personal attention. Call extension 11.09 between 8am and 6pm. Thank you. Elaine Carmen Housekeeper

Dear Miss Carmen

Dear Miss Carmen. It is impossible to contact you by phone since I leave the hotel for business at 7.45 am and don't get back before 5.30 or 6pm. That's the reason I called Mr Kensedder last night. You were already off duty. I only asked Mr Kensedder if he could do anything about those little bars of soap. The new maid you assigned me must have thought I was a new check-in today, since she left another 3 bars of hotel soap in my medicine cabinet along with her regular delivery of 3 bars on the bath-room shelf. In just 5 days here I have accumulated 21 little bars of soap. Why are you doing this to me? S. Berman

Mr Berman continues the struggle to hold on to his bar of soap in this correspondence with a London hotel, currently doing the rounds on e-mail. More soap stories tomorrow.

Granny mags

MY GRANNY was controlled by woman's magazines. They told her what to wear, how to behave and how to make sure she didn't lose my grandpa. She says I am lucky. I can even look at naked men if I want to. I told her I didn't want to but I would fetch one from the newsagents for her. During the 1950s my grandpa had a brief affair with a woman he met at the local tea-shop. But my granny wasn't worried. The magazine told her: "Men get those attacks like kiddies get measles. Let him have his fling and he'll come back a thousand times more in love with you than ever. It occurred to my granny that she should leave my grandpa. However, the magazines came down very harshly on women who entertained this idea: "You only have to go

into a restaurant, and note the strained, disatisfied look on the face of women feeding alone". The magazines finally began to lose their control over my granny after the war, when she became surplus to requirements and was urged back to the home. She was shown how to bake lovely cakes, how to keep her house beautiful and how to be eternally grateful that her man had returned safely from the war. Her work was unrec-



Do tell... Don't Tell It

Spammed

THE FIRST sign that something was wrong came Sunday afternoon, when I logged on to the Internet to check my e-mail and found that someone had enrolled me in a Barry Manilow fan club, a Mercedes-owners discussion group, a Fiji Islands appreciation society and 103 other Internet mailing lists. I'd never heard of I knew from experience that any one of these lists can generate 50 messages a day. To avoid a deluge of junk e-mail I painstakingly unsubscribed from all 106 — even Barry Manilow's — only to log on Monday morning and discover I'd been subscribed overnight to 1,700 more. My file of unread e-mail was growing by the minute.

I'd heard about "spam" — Internet jargon for machine-generated junk mail — and over the years I'd received my share of e-mail get-rich quick pitches and cheesy magazine ads. But I had never experienced anything like this: a parade of mail that just got bigger and bigger. I was getting hundreds of subscription notices, but I was also receiving copies of every piece of mail posted to those lists. By Monday the e-mail was pouring in at the rate of four a minute. 240 an hour, 5,760 a day. Time magazine's Philip Elmer-DeWitt falls victim to e-mail "spam". Other victims in this Internet nightmare scenario included Bill Clinton (president@whitehouse.gov), the New York Times and MTV, and Neat Gingrich.

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-733 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Dan Glaister

12 FINANCE AND ECONOMICS

The Guardian Wednesday March 13 1996

Shareholders and policyholders could share billions • Shares rise 27p

Pru plans big payout

Pauline Springett

SHAREHOLDERS and policyholders of Prudential, the UK's largest life insurer, could share a multi-billion pound windfall payout it emerged yesterday.

Prudential's chief executive, Peter Davis, said the company had started talks with the Department of Trade and Industry over the possible distribution of its "orphan fund".

The Pru's move is expected to prompt others to follow. The announcement helped to trigger a 27p increase in the Pru's shares to 454p.

The bank will take deposits by telephone and will issue mortgages. The Pru already has a £700 million mortgage book and, operating with low costs, hopes to compete in the mortgage market.

Mr Davis said the UK life industry continued to be difficult, although business was improving. Public confidence had been dented by the mis-selling of personal pensions and controversy over disclosure of commissions.

Poorest nations miss out on record investment by Western companies

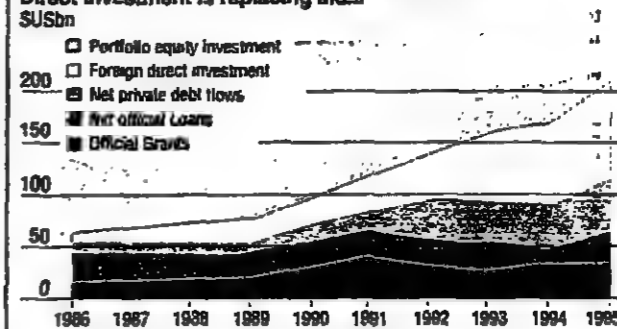
Sarah Ryde

WESTERN companies are investing record amounts in developing countries but not in the world's poorest nations, which are facing growing debt problems because they are losing official aid, the World Bank said last night.

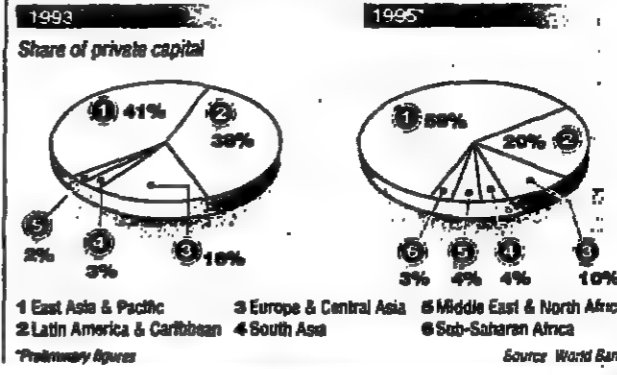
Despite record levels of overall investment in developing countries of \$231 billion (£149 billion) in 1995, the Bank said continuing reductions in official aid would make already badly-off nations even more vulnerable.

The report identified the most vulnerable economies as being mainly in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Debt-to-export ratios continued to worsen in sub-Saharan Africa, falling to 270 per cent, compared with improving debt ratios in East Asia which managed to reduce the ratio from 93 per cent in 1994 to 83 per cent last year.

Emerging markets



Direct investment is replacing aid... and more private capital is flowing to East Asia.



Hanson lops £1bn off debt in Cavenham timber sale

Roger Couss

HANSON has raised \$1.6 billion (£1.06 billion) by selling the second part of its Cavenham timber and sawmill business after an initial \$500 million sale last month.

William Landuyt, chief executive of Hanson's US business, said the negotiations had been completed ahead of schedule and at a higher price.

Hanson is expected to receive a net sum of slightly more than \$1 billion, on top of \$1.8 billion from the sale of Suburban Propane.



Fear of flying... This worker's sticker says 'Keep Fokker in the Air', but along with 2,000 colleagues at Fokker's factory at Schiphol airport, Amsterdam, he was told yesterday that the company may crash this week.

Hours rule counts for little

WORKFACE/European work directive leaves employers plenty of scope for exemptions. Seumas Milne reports

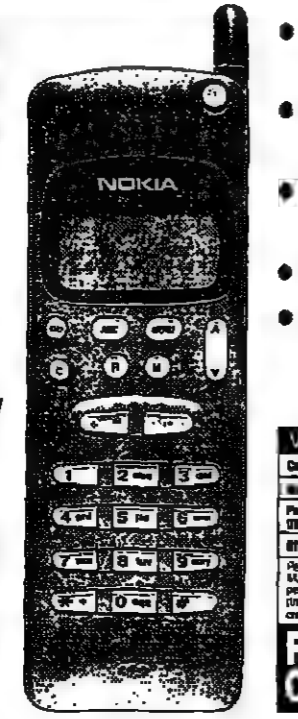
THE howls of rage from Tory Eurosceptics and employers' organisations and whoops of delight from Labour and the unions over yesterday's European Council of Justice decision on working hours follow a well worn pattern of political hyperinflation in British reactions to Brussels social moves.

British employees put in by far the longest hours in the EU, and Britain is the only state where the length of the working week has increased over the past 10 years.

While partly reflecting the exceptionally high level of overtime, it is also the result of the trend towards the longer hours being worked by managerial and professional employees.

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News in brief

Vickers soothes City over share options

SIR Richard Lloyd, chairman of bank and car maker Vickers, has contacted institutional investors in an attempt to soothe City anger over the way three directors exercised share options on the morning that the company announced its annual results.

500 more Barclays jobs go

UP TO 500 staff face the axe at Barclays Bank, which yesterday announced the latest redundancy programme in an industry-wide cost-saving drive that has resulted in tens of thousands of job losses over the past five years.

Williams seeks new buys

WILLIAMS Holdings, the conglomerate which owns Polycell DIY products, Yale locks and Thorn fire extinguishers, is keen on more acquisitions in its three main businesses of fire protection, security and building products.

TI engineers £185m profit

SALES and profits of engineering group TI (formerly Tube Investments) rose by more than a fifth last year, to £1.7 billion and £185 million respectively.

Breaking up would not be hard to do for C&W

Outlook

Nicholas Bannister

CANDIDATES for the vacant chief executive's job at Cable and Wireless should not count on a long stay. The odds on the group being broken up look even shorter now that merger talks with British Telecom have ground to a halt.

The only certainty is that telecom companies are never going to be the same again. This perspective has encouraged companies to share risks - by forming alliances which can be unscrambled if necessary, rather than opting for expensive bids.

BT knows it would not be allowed to own C&W's 80 per cent stake in Mercury, its main UK competitor, or 15.50 per cent stake in the Mercury One-2-One mobile phone business which competes with BT-controlled Celine.

The traditional international telecom groups are concentrating on mainland Europe, where the main markets are due to be opened to competition by 1998.

BT for example, aims to be a major player in countries such as Germany, Italy, Spain, and France. It hardly wants to get involved in a hostile bid for its main UK competitor.

However, City analysts believe that BT's interest in C&W is not over. BT wants to strengthen its presence in the Far East. Analysts believe that the group may return to the negotiating table, along with MCI, its 20 per cent owned US partner, and put forward a break-up proposal.

If BT fails to return to the fray, it is just possible that C&W might survive as an independent company because of a technicality in Hong Kong and because there were better opportunities elsewhere. Hardly a great vote of confidence in the business.

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Collier di for the OI

Dean's D

CHELTENHAM FESTIVAL

Collier digs deep for the Old firm

Dunwoody errs as Alderbrook loses a shoe and Champion title. Chris Hawkins reports

LIFE'S pendulum swung Graham Bradley's way at Cheltenham yesterday when he achieved the ultimate ironic triumph in winning the Smurfit Champion Hurdle on Collier Bay, beating last year's champion Alderbrook on whom he lost the ride 24 days ago.

den's stable two years ago. He backed the horse at 10-1 last week and topped up his bet at 9-1 yesterday.

Collier Bay, who won the Irish Champion Hurdle in January, may not run again this season. But he is only a six-year-old and, all being well, will be back to demand his crown next season. Corral's mule him 7-1 joint favourite with Alderbrook.



Grand Canyon... No danger to the Arkle Chase winner Ventana Canyon as he takes the last fence in splendid isolation

Viking Flagship to sail home for Champion treble

KLAIRON Davis has had problems with his jumping since he beat Sound Man half a length in last season's Arkle Trophy, whereas Sound Man seems to have gone from strength to strength.

Cheltenham with form for the televised races

2.15 Wistley Wooding 2.50 Viking Flagship 2.50 THE ASSASSIN AGAIN (cont)

Table of race results for Cheltenham, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Channel 4

Table of race results for Channel 4, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Channel 5

Table of race results for Channel 5, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Channel 6

Table of race results for Channel 6, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Huntingdon

2.05 Kyrone Bellina Handicap Hurdle 2.15 2.05 Kyrone Bellina Handicap Hurdle 2.15

Table of race results for Huntingdon, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Newton Abbot

2.00 Cambridge Handicap Hurdle 2.15 2.00 Cambridge Handicap Hurdle 2.15

Table of race results for Newton Abbot, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Windsor

2.00 The King's Cup 2.15 2.00 The King's Cup 2.15

Table of race results for Windsor, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Results

Table of race results for various events, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring 'FIRST FOR CHELTENHAM' and 'LIVE AT CHELTENHAM' with betting information.

Advertisement for Dean's double, featuring a jockey's performance and betting details.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring 'FIRST FOR CHELTENHAM' and 'LIVE AT CHELTENHAM' with betting information.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring 'FIRST FOR CHELTENHAM' and 'LIVE AT CHELTENHAM' with betting information.

14 SPORTS NEWS

Soccer

Premiership: Chelsea 1, Manchester City 1

Clough gives City a well-earned lift

Marin Thorpe

MANCHESTER City scrapped for a vital point in their fight against relegation last night, catching Chelsea with an FA Cup hangover...

First game on the bench. His arrival offers another ingredient in the foreign-player debate...

The second half brought a tactical reshuffle from both sides. City dropped Brightwell into the three-man back line...



Wise moved... Kinkiadze keeps Chelsea's midfielder guessing at Stamford Bridge last night

PHOTOGRAPH: DAN SMITH

Jensen goes, Dickov waits

Russell Thomas

AS THE Ian Wright affair continued to reverberate around Highbury, John Jensen slipped quietly away from the marble halls...

request will be dealt with in due course. Ian has asked for a transfer but he signed a new four-year contract only last season...

McCarthy set to keep old guard

MICK MCCARTHY will stick by the old guard when he names his first Republic of Ireland squad in Dublin today for the friendly with Russia at Lansdowne Road on March 27.

of two World Cup tournaments and one European Championship. There may be places in the Ireland squad for relative newcomers such as Liam Daish...

First Division: Crystal Palace 2, Tranmere Rovers 1

Hopkin hoists Palace to third

Jeremy Armstrong

AN 87TH-MINUTE goal by David Hopkin, Crystal Palace's lone scorer, matched victories for Crystal Palace at the end of a scrappy game and raised Dave Bassett's team to third place.

for fans and Bassett, manager for a month, is aware of it. This was the fourth of six home games in 26 days. "I know it is hard to find some money to attend these games but we need your support as important members of my team...

brought it back. His chairman Ron Noades embraced him for his "motivation and man-management skills". The pitch is showing the toll of winter and the intense replays...

just before half-time, a goal too. The first, unsurprisingly, belonged to error and opportunism. Thomas underhit a back-pass and Nohah scored centrally...

Distant chances fell to Freedman and Houghton, who both chipped high. Hopkin forced Coyne to concede a corner and the Australian Ventrut given a debut on the half-hour...

Clark ready to gamble

FRANK CLARK may gamble on Chris Bart-Williams's versatility to help Nottingham Forest in tonight's FA Cup sixth-round tie with Aston Villa at the City Ground.

Birmingham City 2, Huddersfield Town 0

Barnes enough to stir Fry

Tom Evans

PAUL BARNES's last goal before this match was an equaliser for Stoke City in a fierce Second Division promotion tussle, which prompted a full-scale pitch invasion...

ponents to five points, they sank their teeth into the Terriers after only 46 seconds, when Tai's cross to the far post was met by Legg...

ashed past the post. Huddersfield had their chances and might have snatched an equaliser before the interval...

Oldham 1, Sunderland 2

Rokermen's telling late Ball

Ian Ross

SUNDERLAND's recent progress has been so good that they would have anticipated a sixth consecutive league win when they arrived at Boundary Park...

and safety. They will do well to survive but survive they must, for the consequences of relegation are frightening, bearing in mind the club's parlous financial state...

dered enough chances to win half a dozen games and yet, astonishingly, their lead was snatched away from them on the stroke of half-time when Lee Richardson scored in smartly from 18 yards.

Results

Table listing soccer results for various leagues including Premier League, First Division, and Second Division.

Rugby League

Table listing rugby league results for various teams and competitions.

Ice Hockey

Table listing ice hockey results for various leagues and teams.

Snooker

Table listing snooker results for various tournaments.

Cricket

Table listing cricket results for various matches.

Sport in brief

Summary of other sports news including Athletics, Rugby Union, Hockey, and Badminton.

Teamtalk advertisement for The Independent News and Reports Service, including contact information and a list of sports news items.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including 'Police', 'abrasive', 'eds Mr', 'aints angry', 'bbbs' signi', and 'Badminton'.

Rugby League

Paul Fitzpatrick reports on the latest round of bad publicity to hit the club who seldom put a foot wrong on the field

Police probe Wigan 'transfer'

WIGAN and their chairman Jack Robinson are at the centre of a police inquiry into allegedly bogus transfer talks about one of their players.

transfer dealings involving Neil Cowie, their Welsh international forward, and Leeds.

Leeds chief executive Alf Davies to write a letter confirming the Yorkshire club's interest in Cowie, followed by a second letter saying that Leeds no longer wanted him because of the "binge" allegations made by the Observer.

Yesterday Davies confirmed that he had written to Robinson, but he would not elaborate on the letter's contents.

Robinson said he was not prepared to make any comment until he had discussed the matter with the club's solicitor, Tom Fishwick.

As a result, part of the club's prize-money from the Regal Trophy and Stones Centenary Championship was withheld by the Rugby Football League.



Robinson... accusations

Cycling Jalabert sprints to the attack

William Fotheringham in Chalignac

THE first test of strength in a stage race is always eagerly awaited after the phoney war of the opening days, and yesterday's 108-mile leg to this tiny hilltop village suggests that the Paris-Nice "Race to the Sun" is likely to be fought out by last year's winner Laurent Jalabert of France.

Jalabert put in such a sprint that he gained about 20 seconds immediately, said Boardman afterwards. "There was nothing I could do; it was awesome. If I had tried to stay with him I would have blown my nuts off. I had to ride at my own pace."

Boardman's pace was nevertheless sufficient to rope in Armstrong and Luc Leblanc of France, world champions in 1993 and 1994 respectively and the only two riders who attempted to hold Jalabert's pace.

Jalabert's comment yesterday was "One second's lead before the time-trial will be enough", but for all his bravado he will need a more substantial cushion to be certain of overall victory.

Italy's former world champion Maurizio Fondriest has pulled out of the Tirreno-Adriatico which starts today with strained leg tendons. Also missing will be Tony Rominger, who has respiratory problems; the Swiss world No. 2 fractured a rib in training last month but intends to lead the Mapei GB team in the 12-day 1,200-mile Tour Du Pont in Delaware in May.

Boxing

Abrasive Bruno sheds Mr Nice Guy

Kevin Mitchell in Las Vegas finds a touch of hubris in the court of King Frank in the last days before the big talking has to stop

THE British monarchy as we know it may be falling apart, says Charles Stanger of the ESPN television network.

Such are the news-media clichés here, and Frank Bruno is doing nothing to upset the colonial preconceptions. Though less than regal in his dealings with the media — indeed, much of the time on Monday he was downright rude — the man who can justifiably call himself heavyweight champion of the world seems to be settling in nicely as a benign despot.

Perhaps he is listening too much to the comforting voices of those around him, but Bruno is sounding increasingly like a monarch who regards some members of Mike Tyson this Saturday night as something of a peasants' revolt.

How far we have come from 1989. It was hardly conceivable after five rounds of frustration on the evening of February 25 that year that Bruno would return to Las Vegas seven years on as holder of the title Tyson then regarded as his personal property.

It is one of the oldest observations in boxing that a champion's stature during his tenure of a title, and Bruno would certainly seem to be a different man now. It was hard to excuse his arrogance on Monday, however, when he not only tried to belittle some members of the British press corps but would later not take on board the argument that his behaviour had lacked dignity.

He was gratuitously offensive to French and German journalists, labelling them with national stereotypes, before turning on a respected English sports writer. In a cartoon display, Bruno was full of "pip pip hooray, old chap" in responding to the man's perfectly reasonable questions.

It was an unedifying spectacle which had all of us cringing, although it must be said that the champion himself did not seem remotely worried or embarrassed. "There is a case for saying that this merely reflects his strength of mind as he prepares for what Stanger rightly describes as "the fight of his life".

All fighters withdraw to some extent close to a great fight, and any investors on the 10-1 odds against Bruno stopping Tyson inside the 12-round distance on Saturday night could have taken heart from his arrogance.

He did not spar on Monday, Friday, who at least went through the motions during four desultory rounds with José Ribalta, but as always Bruno looked physically magnificent.

Asked later about what weight he would come in at for the fight, he seemed relatively unconcerned. "It doesn't really matter too much," he said. "I know I am in terrific shape and if I am 17½ stone or 17-8 I will still be at my peak."

Tyson, meanwhile, remains dispassionate as the British press wagon. There is an army of British support in Las Vegas, which might cause concern for those familiar with the behaviour of some of our sporting tourists, and it is to be hoped they will behave themselves on Saturday night.

Yosh, 5,000 will be coming to root for him," Tyson said, "and 5,000 will be taking that long, depressing trip back to England with him."

Yet the challenger is nowhere near as ebullient as Bruno, and true to the pattern of nearly all his fights is playing it very low-key. He does not think Bruno really believes he can beat him. Tyson, although surrounded by flaccid pygmies, is confident enough of his own ability to prepare almost in isolation.

His trainer Jay Bright does not seem to have much control over him. Indeed he is largely disparaged here as a "bucket carrier". The feeling is that Tyson is running his own show.

About Bruno's boast that he will knock him out, Tyson said: "I'm sure he doesn't believe that in his heart, especially after our last encounter. I worry about everyone and I will say this about him, he is the heavyweight champion of the world. I'm not ranting and raving but my actions will speak louder than words."

"I give Bruno a clubber's chance," is the considered opinion of Lennox Lewis, who holds a stoppage win over Bruno and who tried to block this fight and challenge Bruno or Tyson himself.

"He's a very, very strong clubber. He's an expert rabbit-puncher." The British betting public seems to believe him. William Hill have reported heavy interest in odds of 38-1 against Bruno stopping Tyson in the first round. Substantial bets have also been placed on Tyson at 1-5, including a single wager at £50,000.

Latest odds: Hill's: 1-5 Tyson, 10-3 Bruno. Ladbrokes: 1-4 Tyson, 11-4 Bruno.



Got everything taped... Bruno exudes confidence for Saturday's big fight against Mike Tyson PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENNINGS

Rugby Union

Saints angry at Gibbs 'signing'

John Huxley

ST HELENS, angered by reports that Scott Gibbs has signed registration forms with Newcastle rugby union club, said yesterday that they would block any attempt by the former Lions and Wales union international to return to his old code.

St Helens insist Gibbs is their man. "Scott is going nowhere," said their chief executive David Howes. But New Zealand director of rugby Rob Andrew claimed: "Scott is very keen on joining us."

Gibbs will have a few questions to answer when he gets back from holiday in the US. Howes said: "Scott has a contract with us and Super League for the next three Super League seasons and has received a Super League loyalty bonus. Therefore he cannot do anything without our permission."

But Andrew said: "He decided he wanted to sign Courage league registration forms and he will come under. I don't know what qualification period he will come under. I am delighted at the prospect of him joining Newcastle."

Gibbs, who joined Saints in April 1994 from Swansea, may be planning to return to his old code or he may be aiming to play union in winter and league in summer, although St Helens appear unlikely to agree to that. Howes said: "We have a policy in which the end of the initial 1996 summer season and the start of the 1997 season will be devoted entirely to preparation for the 1997 season."

One player who will be free to play both codes is the Orrell and Scotland Under-21 wing Graham Smith, who joined Wakefield Trinity yesterday. Trinity will not stand in his way if he is selected to tour New Zealand with Scotland this summer.

England set for busier schedule ENGLAND's international schedule is to be increased to raise extra revenue to fund professionalism and ensure frequent competition, writes Robert Armstrong.

Argentina as England's warm-up opponents for the Five Nations. If neither of last year's World Cup finalists are available, then the third international slot will probably be filled by a nation from North America or the Pacific islands.

Bath members have agreed a new constitution under which the club will be controlled by a trust company which grants an operating licence to a limited company run by a chairman and a chief executive.

A new Davies proves that appearances can deceive

David Plummer on the Neath and Wales centre bringing flair back to The Gnoll

GERALD DAVIES, the greatest of Wales's wings, six years ago likened the Neath players to extras in a Sam Peckinpah movie. With their cropped haircuts and uncompromising appearance the Gnoll club destroyed anything in its path in those days, and Davies was not the most popular man in the town. But the hair, and the path, have since grown back and the memories have receded.

Two throwbacks can be found in the Neath midfield, however, the centres John Funnell and Leigh Davies, who this week are both involved in international matches against France. Funnell is making his debut for Wales A against France A on Friday afternoon, and this Davies will win his fifth cap in the full international between the countries 24 hours later.

Funnell who is 21, resembles Magwitch in Great Expectations, scuffle on his chin and on the top of his head, and Davies, a year Funnell's junior, has the build and demeanour of someone guarding a night-club's doors. In both cases appearances are deceptive.

They have combined as a pairing to prompt some of the most exhilarating rugby on the club scene in Wales, not just this season but for many years. Both have light hands, vision and understanding and bring the best out of those around them even in the tightest situations.

When Davies, who is playing in his first full season of senior rugby and who had trials as a striker with Coventry City and Birmingham City, made his debut as a teenager against Italy in January last year, it was assumed that Wales had unearthed another Ray Gravell, a crash-tackling, contact-seeking centre in the mould of the injured player he had replaced, Gareth Thomas.

Davies is indeed uncompromising in defence and takes some stopping even before he hits full stride, but he is a classical outside-centre who brings his wings into play and appreciates that a well-timed pass can create more havoc than a bullocking run. "People look at me and because I am 6ft and 15 stone think I am going to stick my head down and run," said Davies. "That is not my style at all. There are times when you have to take players on, but I see my job as to put my wings free."

Both Neath and Wales are committed to a wide game which suits me perfectly. If I have the choice of attempting to go through an opponent or around him I will always choose the latter. Contact is a last resort, and things have gone reasonably well behind the scrum for Wales this championship. We have scored some slick tries but as a team we have made too many mistakes. Our record of three defeats is deceptive because we have provided most of the highlights of this championship. We just need a victory to lift confidence."

Davies recently left college to become the sixth player to take up employment as a development officer with the Welsh Rugby Union. His rise to fame had led to a rash of interest from rugby league and union clubs in England. But even though he said in the Italy programme that his ambition was to become a very rich man, he is content to remain in Wales.

"I am happy in Wales and have no desire to move. Neath is my home, the town where my friends live. Everything has gone very well for me on the rugby front this season. Neath are still in the hunt for two trophies and I have made the Wales side. There is no reason to look elsewhere."

It is not likely to be long before Funnell and Davies find themselves together in the Wales midfield. Perhaps then Neath will at last forgive Gerald Davies his Peckinpah allusion. After all, the director's first film was called the Deadly Companions.

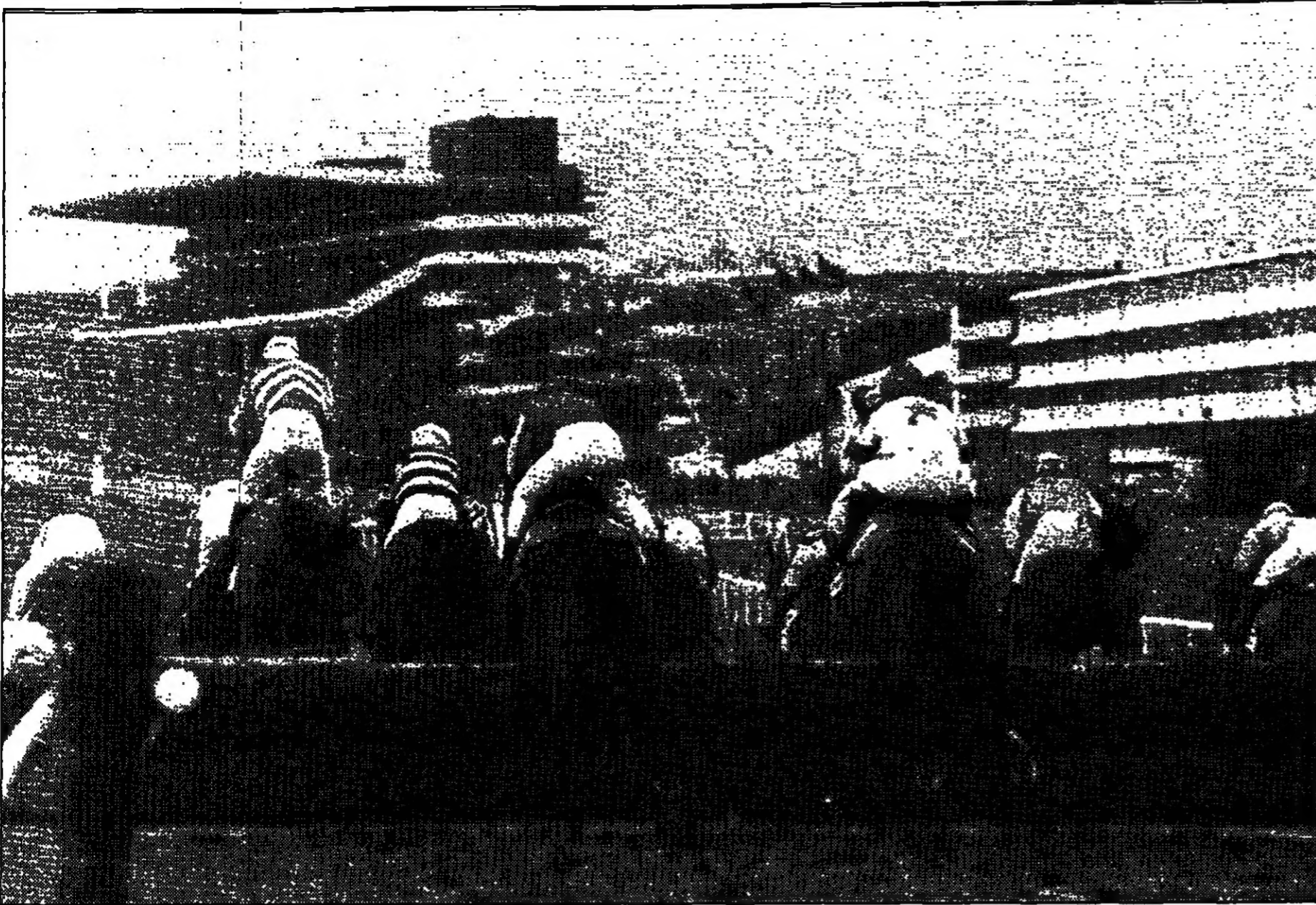


Leigh Davies... classical

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SportsGuardian

OPENING RACES OF CHELTENHAM FESTIVAL DELIGHT THE BOOKMAKERS



Tall-enders... the field approaches the grandstand in the Citroën Supreme Novice hurdle, the first race of the National Hunt's premier festival

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

Collier Bay seizes the day

Paul Weaver sees Graham Bradley enjoy a victory from which dreams are made

A HUSH fell over Cheltenham's snowy hills yesterday as Graham Bradley steered home Collier Bay to win the Smurfit Champion Hurdle and confound the predictions of an Anglo-Irish rumble between last year's winner, Alderbrook, and the romantics'

choice. Danoli, Collier Bay, a useful enough hurdler, came in at 9-1 but was 12-1 at the weekend and — until the rain fell on this Michael Fish playground of a racecourse — was almost withdrawn. It was the start of a jockey who had lost the chance to ride Alderbrook when he overslept last month.

Alderbrook, the 10-11 favourite, was second, 2½ lengths behind, and the heroic Danoli, whose career appeared to be over 11 months ago when he fractured his near-fore fetlock, finished fourth. Collier Bay, a small winner ante-post and a better winner yesterday, brought smiles from the bookmakers but nothing so big as the grin that filled the normally crumpled, lugubrious features of the popular trainer Jim Old.

whose first Cheltenham Festival win this was. "I just watched a dream unfold," he said. "This has always been the race I wanted to win above all others. With this race I feel you can buy a horse that can win it. The Gold Cup is a dream factory and the Grand National is a lottery. "I was thrilled when I saw the rain come down because I knew it would suit him. But I have had to be patient with him. He had a virus a couple of years ago and another last year. He was not at his best in Leopardstown. He had a horrible journey over there and there was 10lb of improvement in him this time. And he is such a relentless galloper. "I have always been a big fan of Brad. I brought him south after things started to go wrong with the Dickinsons. He has the best alarm clock in the business. "That was something of an in-joke — but a good one. Bradley, whose seventh Cheltenham win this was, had a chance of riding Alderbrook but when invited to take him for a gallop he overslept. "I thought, 'That's it. I've

missed my chance to ride a Champion Hurdle winner." But this business has plenty of ups and downs. "I was due to take Alderbrook for a run four weeks ago. But the previous night I went to Dean Gallagher's birthday party and got back at about 1.30am. I was pretty drunk, to be honest, but I thought I'd be there easily for 10am. "My girlfriend, Amanda Wilson, got up and went to work at 7.30. She set the alarm, an electric one, and there was a power cut and I didn't wake up until 10.20. I can sleep a bit. "I rang Kim Bailey and said I would be there in 10 minutes but he said, 'Don't worry'. The schooling session had already happened. It was a nightmare, and very embarrassing. I made Southern Electric send me a telegram saying when the power cut was. I felt very unlucky to lose the chance to ride Alderbrook but I must thank Southern Electric now. "Collier Bay travelled very well. I was delighted when I saw the rain and snow because I knew it would suit

him. I heard a few words I can't repeat when I went past Mysliv. Jamie Osborne had passed over the chance to ride Collier Bay. "I Irish cheerers were still-born, with the failures of Danoli and Eotai Minella, matters might have been far worse. Early in the morning strong winds had blown the candy-striped canvas roof off Guinness Village and the punters looked likely to be without their favourite Liffey Liqueur for the day. "At one stage I thought the whole lot was coming down and I would have to tell a few thousand Irishmen they couldn't have any Guinness. "On a bitterly cold day, when the racing silks in front of the white hills looked rather like a Stubbs superimposed on a Bruegel, the Guinness was important.

The Red giant who was left to walk alone



Vincent Hanna

THE thing about great people is that so many others claim to have known them. Casual encounters become lifelong friendships, stories are retold and embellished. We bask in their reflected light. Try it sometime. In football circles, with the name of Bill Shankly. He died 14 years ago, and is commemorated in a new book.

Shankly epitomised a club, a city and an era, and everyone has a story about him. Some people say football is a matter of life and death... finish it yourselves. Shankly was a great man. With Matt Busby and Jock Stein he built the foundations of the modern professional game. Unlike Busby and Stein he was honoured neither as he deserved nor as he wished. And he was unable to demand it.

Shankly knew that football was not just entertainment but the cement that bonds players, fans into a community. It bequeathed the effete and the amateur. It was because he was deadly serious about what the game meant to working men.

He was born in Glenbuck, in the Ayrshire coalfield, where football provided relief, and occasionally escape, from coal-dust and miner's lung. It helped Shankly the socialist get back at those people who ran the game — and life — from "upstairs".

I met him half a dozen times in the Seventies. He humoured me, a bit, because I also wrote about trade unions. He once grilled me for half an hour about a car dispute at Ellesmere Port. "Why can't they learn how to fight for themselves?" he said fiercely.

I AM glad that he did not see his game dominated by marketing men, superstores and TV-arranged fixtures. For Shankly, the team was the focus of a community. Civic pride, as Dave Bowler argues, was never regarded as an eccentric attachment to a buried past. Shankly knitted the city around his club. Think of Shankly and you hear the echo of J B Priestley. To say that those men paid their shillings to watch 22 men kick a ball, is to say that a

violin is wood and catgut, that Hamlet is so much paper and ink. For a shilling Shankly offered conflict and art.

Bowler's book is not an easy read. He is a former accountant who once wrote pop biographies. He never met Shankly. His style is that of an earnest research student eager to display his sources. There is hardly a sense of what it was like to be there — either as player, manager or fan. Although I did like the description of Shankly's idea of a good meal: huge chops boiled in barley, or poached eggs by the dozen.

But it's a readable that part dealing with Shankly's retirement in 1974. There Bowler's experience of board-room relationships becomes relevant. I remember being puzzled back then. Shankly posed for photos "gardening" at home, holding a pair of shears, in immaculate blazer, flannels and shiny shoes. But Hugh McLivnaney described his sense of cruel disappointment, his bitterness at the way he had been treated. How he had always done things "without any help from those people". Those people again.

HAVING poked about a bit myself, I believe that Shankly decided to quit largely because his wife Nessie had asked him to. Some directors tried hard to persuade him to stay on as general manager but abruptly and intemperately he said no. Later he regretted his decision and kept turning up at Melwood, the club's training ground.

Bob Paisley's instant success as inheritor of the Shankly team made things worse. Shankly was consigned to the past. Instead of living out his life in honour, like his friend Matt Busby, he remained an outsider, revered in the city, largely unrecognised by the club he had made great again. His character made it impossible for him to meet success. In his autobiography he wrote: "It would have been a wonderful honour to have been made a director... but I don't go round saying I would like to be this and that; that's begging, and I'm not a begger."

"The privileges of the great," said Jean Giraudoux, "is to see catastrophes from a terrace." Had he known Bill Shankly he might have added, "even their own". After his death, in 1981, the directors erected the Shankly Gates. Many in Liverpool think they should have renamed Anfield. So do I. "Shankly, the authorised biography of Bill Shankly, by Dave Bowler (Orion, 16.99).

First day claims four horses

FOUR horses were destroyed yesterday at the Cheltenham Festival, two belonging to trainer Martin Pipe and the owner Darren Mercer, writes Ken Oliver.

Draborgie and Mack The Knife were both put down after shattering pasterns. The other two were Killfinny Cross, who broke his neck, and No When To Run, who injured a shoulder.

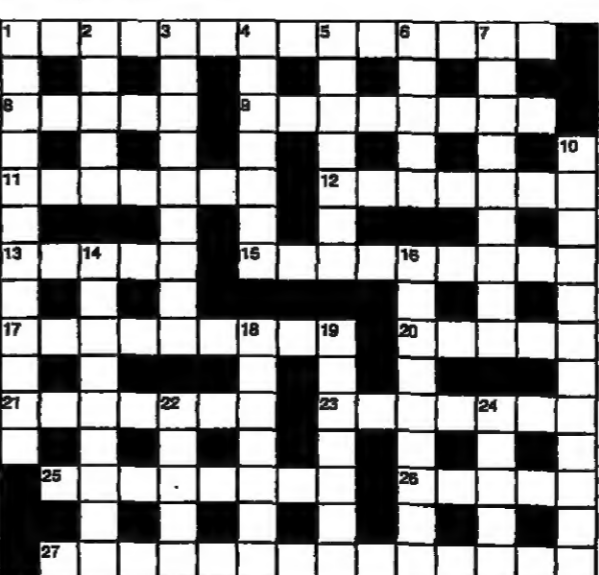
Draborgie, the subject of an injury scare last week, was a doubtful runner for the Guinness Arkle Chase until yesterday morning. The mare, who had won her previous two races since coming to England from France, was the 3-1 favourite. Mack The Knife, a 33-1 chance, suffered his fatal injury in the Champion Hurdle. Pipe said: "This

must be the saddest afternoon of my training career. Words cannot express the sadness we all feel. If horses run badly, at least they can come back to fight another day. "This must be the hardest game in the world. It is absolutely shattering to lose two grand horses on the same day."

Chris Hewkins, page 13

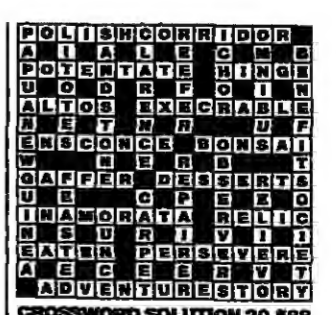
Guardian Crossword No 20,599

Set by Araucaria



- Across**
- 1 Weep about it not opening the gizzard for pork pies, bugs, etc (6-8)
 - 8 Boast from last month (5)
 - 9 1 down's past love in a pat (8)
 - 11 Sucks to supplier of grass (7)
 - 12 Round object containing salt and resembling an eye (7)
 - 13 Backer of one emperor and worshipper of another (5)
 - 15 Princess upset having lost article with long thin sections (8)
 - 17 Identify in some respects, some in flower on mountain (9)
 - 20 1 down's opposite, advantageously placed (3,2)
 - 21 Landlord's characters of which 1 down was a man (7)
 - 23 Wearing long pants, he roasted 1 down's 3 (7)

- 25 Conversant with a witch's cat, say (8)
 - 26 1 down's grass (5)
 - 27 Base character of French officer on English class head (14)
- Down**
- 1 Revolutionary rising worries idle characters that returned Benn (12)
 - 2 Hornsplay (5)
 - 3 Approve horse among deer, condescending custom (9)
 - 4 Bent like a bishop? (7)
 - 5 A disc that resounds around a railway for years (3-4)
 - 6 Fish round river for money (5)
 - 7 Singular little 21, gold, most of it on the shoulder (8)
 - 10 Exchange blows with some deputies in blocks (5,7)
 - 14 Butterfingers? Wrong tack coming into coast (9)



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- 16 Trouble with chopper ace: double hot rotor? (8)
- 18 Animate in 4 feature of 1 down (7)
- 19 Island shows the wrong way to conserve the killer whale (7)
- 22 Pick of the literary bunch (5)
- 24 Cheek from Worcester-shire, maybe (5)

Solution tomorrow

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